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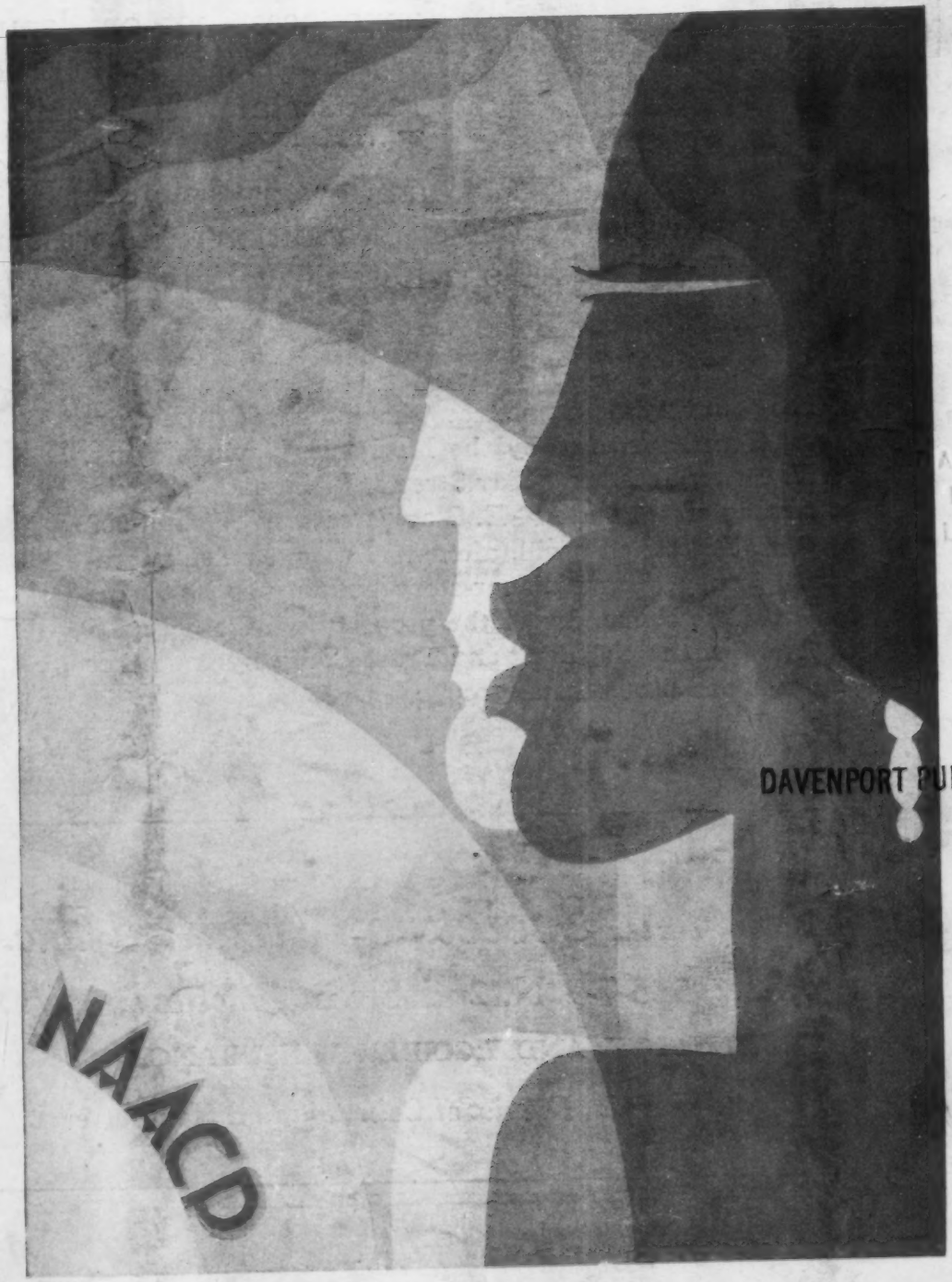

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A Record of the Darker Races

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *Editor* — Thomas J. Calloway, *Business Manager*

Volume 37, No. 1 — Contents for January, 1930 — *Whole No. 231*

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The February Crisis will carry our forecast of the work to be attempted by American Negroes in 1930 for their final emancipation. There will be one or two intimate life stories. A Cover by a new artist, and talk about Haiti.

As the Crow Flies

As soon as *Congress* was gone, President Hoover called the real rulers of the land together and asked the Merchants and Superpower owners, the Transportation chiefs and all hirers of Labor to let the country go on being prosperous. They said they would if they were not bothered by politicians. Which proves that the *people* rule.—It's a Red Devil and a China-blue sea that face the Amalgamated White Peacemakers; if *China* yields, *Russia* rules; if Russia yields, China will turn her attention to other white owners of railways, factories and similar concessions.—Out of natural *Italian* curiosity, the King has gone to see a Pope.—To sweep the dirts, the ladies' *skirts* are drabbling dainty rags.—The last French soldier is out of Ehrenbreitstein, *die Wacht am Rhein*, and the leading daily remembers the outrages of American soldiers on men and women. Preach it brother, we blacks of Georgia and *Haiti* know!—*New York* will spend a half billion this year to do 250 million dollars worth of work.—Seventy-five dead *soldiers* recently arrived from Russia. And by the bye what were they doing in Russia and when did the Russian-American war begin and end?—Our idea of the best joke of the season is the *New York Times* explaining how the stock crash was evidence of the essential soundness of American business.—*Hell* is not paved with Sin but it's paved all right.—If the Exalted Conferees of the *London Naval Conference* keep excepting subjects of discussion, the Conference will eventually be confined to the color of the paint on the new ships.—We deeply regret to learn that Mr. Hoover is not descended from the *nobility*. This, so far as we can learn, is true of no other prominent man.—*Germany* has paid 2,000 million dollars indemnity for the War out of nearly 2,000 millions borrowed of America.—The United States lost 85 million dollars last year in running the Post Office while the munition makers gained 200 millions manufacturing gunboats and powder; which proves that the *government* can't conduct business.—*Commander Byrd* paid a brief visit with friends at the South Pole. He reports a good time by all.—*Judah Magnes* is a brave man and true when he asks Zion for all men and not for one race; while England having promised sovereignty to both Jew and Arab is in her usual pickle of hypocrisy.—We don't blame Mr. Stimson for not directly answering Mr. *Litvinoff*: that note was unanswerable.—The weary *Tiger of France* has earned his everlasting sleep.—What we want to see is a little note from *Mr. Stimson* to Great Britain telling her to lay off on some of her little wars.—And tactful advice by France to the United States concerning *Haiti*.—The *Senate* has again denied a seat to a Sentor because of fraud. Heflin, who holds a seat by greater fraud, voted against Vare. Blease, who was born in fraud, had the sense to vote for Vare. Hearken, dear Southerners, to the W. K. Mills of the Gods!—How easy it is to regulate *wages* and arrange industry and avert panics by vote of committees sitting in Washington, despite the majestic and unalterable Laws of *Supply* and *Demand*. The committees, of course, must never be selected by popular vote and William Green's green labor must be dumb.—*Tunney* is trying not to be a mere pugilist and succeeding indifferently.—The N. Y. *Metropolitan Opera* is looking for a site in heaven.

The Crisis is published monthly and copyrighted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 15 cents a copy, $1.50 a year. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage and while The Crisis uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

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In writing to any advertiser in this magazine you will confer a favor on the publishers by mentioning THE CRISIS.

WHITE LILACS. Drawing by Laura Wheeler Waring.

"You needn't look so skeered, Honey. I was jus' a-movin' dis here chair closer to the winder, so's I could look at dem white li-locks!"

White Lilacs

A Story by EDITH L. YANCY

YOU needn't look so skeered, honey. I was jus' a-movin' dis here chair closer to de winder, so's I could look at dem white lilocks a-growin' down dere in yo' yard. Dey's real pretty, honey—real petty wid de sun a-shinin' on 'em.

You is de sheriffs' wife, aint you? I done seed you goin' by on dat ole road what leads pass Mister Rankins' house. I done watched you many a time out o' de kitchen winder. I'se real sorry, honey, I done disturbed you f'om yo' work. 'Cause whilse I'se here, I ain't a-meanin' to be no trouble—you done fetched yo' tattin' wid you, aint you, honey? Dat's 'cause you is gwi' sit a piece wid me, aint you? **I'se glad, honey.** De good Lawd knows, I was gittin' kinder lonesome lak.

It be real comf'table up here, though,—dis nice mattin' on de flo', an' de cot so's I kin lay down on an' rest, an' dis here easy-chair. I reck'n now, you thought to cheer a body up a bit, hangin' dese nice yaller curtains, wid de blue-birds on 'em. Dey's real pretty, honey. Dey hides, too, dem iron bars de sheriff's done put 'cross de winders. Dey sho' do make it pleasant in here, wid de sun a-shinin' thoo 'em.

An' dem white li-locks—now. I was jus' lookin' at 'em, honey. I was jus' lookin' at 'em. . . She was plumb took 'way wid 'em, honey—my Eugenie—plumb took 'way wid 'em. Dat was my baby—Eugenie—honey. She be eighteen her las' birthday, which was in March, pass. . . . An' when he seed how wild she was 'bout 'em, he up an' set out a whole lot uv'em in de garden what he done make fur her.

'Twas lak a bit o' dem woods what's out back o' his place, honey,—dat garden,—wild lak wid honeysuckle vines mos' nigh hidin' dem stone walls roun' it, an' wid birch trees an' yaller dogwood trees an' flowers a-growin' evah which-aways, an' dem white li-locks. It was kinder nice, honey,—dat garden.

I ain't nevah set foot in it though. An' he guessed I was skeered on 'count o' dey mought be snakes in it. An' he laugh, an' he say, dey wasn't none out dere, 'cause he done took a stick an' prodded all roun' an' he aint nevah foun' none. . . 'Pears lak, at fust, he nevah thought nothing 'bout it.—howcome I done shun de place, an' done kept to my room, 'cept when I was in de kitchen. . . It wasn't on 'count o' no snakes, nuther, honey. . . .

I done spoke to Eugenie 'bout it, dat she ought'n to do it, dat we ought to go 'way. She wasn't seein' it her ole mother's way, though. An' seemed lak, I couldn' bring mys'f to go 'way wid out her, honey. . . .

Dey wasn't no place fur me to go no ways. My pore Ellick done been dead three months, an' me an' Eugenie was stayin' wid frien's—dey done bu'nt up up ev-vy thing on de li'l plateau what we own, honey, whilse dey was huntin' Ellick—when Mr. Rankin ax me to come an' keep house fur him, lak I done fur his mother, befo' him, an' bring Eugenie wid me. . . .

I done spoke 'bout it to Eugenie, honey. But she was'nt a-seein' it her ole mother's way,—dat dey was sin in it. I dunno—I reck'n, I was'nt strict enough wid her. Seems lak I nevah could say much to my Eugenie, no how. . . .

Dey ain't no-body evah knowed she was dere in dat ole house, honey. Aint no-body evah seed my Eugenie. He done fetched me an' her here in one uv dem automobiles. We nevah knowed none uv de culled folks here in his town, honey. We be strangers here, me an' my Eugenie. We nevah went no wheres—jus' stayed on de place. . . . 'Peared lak, he done talked to Eugenie befo' he ax me to come an' wuk fur him.

Dey ain't no-body knowed she was dere. Dat's howcome, honey, dey's a-'cusin' me fur what done happen to him. Dat's howcome dey to fetch me here. . . .

I done spoke to Eugenie, lak I say, honey. She was'nt thinkin' 'bout nothin' 'cept livin' fur him, an' bein' happy, though.

She was happy, honey—my Eugenie. She was happy, an'—him. I use to watch 'em in de evenin' when dey'd be together in de garden. I use to watch 'em—him, always quiet lak, an' her a-stoppin' to smell de flowers, an' put her arms, wid de gold bracelets, he done give her, on 'em, roun' dem white li-locks—An' wid de blossoms brushin' 'gin her face, an' fallin' off an' gittin' caught in her hair—I watched her 'cause she was so happy, honey . . so happy, an' pretty, an' wild lak—jus' lak de garden he done make fur her.

Den some how—way after de li-locks done gone an' 'twas de fall o' de year—'peared lak sometin' done come betwixt 'em. He was real uneasy lak, den. An' he was'nt inclined to talk much, nuther. An' days when he done come home early, he stayed out dere in de garden.—all unhappy an' desperate lak,—'twel 'twas dark, diggin' 'mongst de flowers.

An' Eugenie, she was all de time in her room. Only wasn't she staying dere, a-crying? I done seed she was'nt aimin' to let on lak dey was sump'n wrong be-twixt 'em. An' I open her do' soft lak. She was'nt a-cryin' though. . . only sittin' in dat big chair in front uv de fire place, wid de light a-flickenin' on her an' her head layin' back lak she was restin' . . . all de time restin' herse'f—an' him in de garden, unhappy an' desperate lak.

Den one day, when de snow done come, an' de garden was white wid it, he come up dem stairs to her room, a-fetchin' her a li'l birch twig wid one o' dem moth c'coons on it. I was in my room wid de do' open, honey, an' I heerd her when she speak—her voice a-tremblin' kinder sad an' kinder happy, too. An' she speak 'bout how, when it done come spring a gin, when de flowers'd be bloomin', an' dem white li-locks 'd be out, de pretty moth a-layin' close an' warm inside o' de c'coon, would free itse'f an' come out. . . . Den she fell a-cryin'. An' I heerd him a talkin'—trying to comfort her. An' I knowed Eugenie was a-needin' me. I knowed I could nevah go 'way an' leave her dere by herse'f. . . .

I couldn't make it out cl'ar, honey, 'bout de way she speak, an' all. An' I was a-tremblin' an' afeared. 'Twas lak de good Lawd done put a nudder cross on my shoulder's fur me to bear an' done put de trufe in my way wid it. Den I thought 'bout her pappy—I thought 'bout my pore Ellick. Den—I couldn' listen, no mo; cause dey was somethin' done commenced leapin' up inside o' me,—a tearin' me to pieces.

An' when she done come to me wid it, honey, I coulddn' hold in no mo'. She nevah say nothin' at fust, though, 'cause she knowed I was thinkin' 'bout her pappy,—jus' stood wid her head hangin' down. . . Den—all o' a sudden, she commenced cryin' out fur me to stop, 'cause she couldn't stand me a-thinkin' such things, an' 'cause she wasn't a-meanin' to heap no mo' trouble an' werry on my head, an' dat I couldn' understand how it be wid her,—dat she couldn't hold what'd been done to her pappy, 'gin Mr. Rankin jus' 'cause it was his culla what done it. . . .

An' den when Spring done come, an' I seed her an' him in de garden together agin, an' wid her so happy, I prayed de good Lawd to let her go on bein' happy to let dat part o' dey sin

what was hers, be on my head. 'Cause I done suffered a lot a-ready anyways an', I could bear it. . . .

But He nevah seed fit to let my baby's happiness go on, honey. When de flowers was all bloomin' an' de white li-locks done come—I was settin' in her room a knittin'—dese ole han's ain't so quick lak dey once was—I was knittin', an' my Eugenie an' him was at de winder a-lookin' down at de garden. She was so happy, my Eugenie. . . . She was holdin' out her han' so's de moth—it'd done come out o' de c'coon, honey, an' she was a holdin' out her han' wid it clingin' to her fingers, so's it could fly into de garden. An' when it done got its strength, an' gone off into de garden, she turned roun' to him, an' I seed she was'nt smilin' no mo' . . . only looking sad lak, lak all her happiness done clean gone wid de moth into de garden . . . . An' den she fell a-weepin', wid him wid his arms roun' her, a-trying to comfort her. . . .

My Eugenie nevah smiled no mo', honey. De good Lawd nevah seed fit to let her take up her happiness, agin. . . . An' de li'l one,—it went away lak de moth. . . . My baby nevah got to hold it long in her arms. . . . An' den —she went—too. . . .

When I seed she was gittin' low—when I done done all I could fur her, she ax fur him to come, dat dey was sump'n she wanted to say to him, by hisse'f.

I didn' go way, honey. I stood out side my baby's do', 'cause I knowed she mought be goin' any minute. . . . An' when he come an' fetched me, agin, I seed her propped up wid pillars, an' wid her bes' dress—it was made out o' yaller silk, honey, an' trimmed wid beads—an' her slippers, wid de gold 'broidery wuk on 'em—layin' on de foot uv her bed. She made me put 'em on her, honey, wid him he'pin', 'cause my ole han's was a-shakin' so. . . .

Den layin' dere, she make us burn up in de fire-place, ev'rything dat was hers. . . . Dey was a shawl she done wore out in de garden, when him an' her was a-walkin' dere an' 'twas kinder cool. He pleaded wid her fur her to let him keep it, but she only looked at him sorrowful lak, an' shook her head. . . . An' he stood dere befo' de fire-place wid his han's behin' him, an' his head hangin' down, watchin' it burn, 'twel she commenced pleadin' wid de Lawd dat day was nothin' left o' her sin but herse'f, an', she was ready to go. . . .

She looked lak a pretty bride—my Eugenie—honey. Dat was why she wanted de silk dress on, an' de slippers, so's she mought look lak one, 'cause she'd nevah been none on earth. An' wid de big basket uv white li-locks, he done cut an' brung up out o' de garden fur her to look at, standin' at de head uv her bed, an' de li'l one a-layin' in de holler uv her arm—my baby looked lak a pretty bride, honey.

An' den all de afternoon wid me a-standin' by her bed a lookin' down at her an' de li'l one, an' a-listenin' to de soun' o' his hammerin' an' sawin', down dere in de cellar—

I seed den honey, he was'nt aimin' fur nobody to know 'bout my Eugenie an' de li'l one. But I couldn't go down dem stairs to him to hinder him. . . . I couldn' do nothin'. I couldn' do nothin' but stand dere at de foot o' my baby's bed, an' look down at her an' de li'l one. . . .

When he done come up agin to my Eugenie's room, an' done took her up off'n her bed, an' in his arms—her an' de li'l one—she look lak he mought be jus' carryin' her, wid her li'l one down to de garden to set dere in de sunshine an' look at de flowers, an' dem white li-locks. Only—I knowed honey, she'd nevah open her eyes no mo', an' it done got dark in de garden. . . .

It peared lak, honey he seed den how 'twas wid me. I 'spec' it come to him den, too, how it had been wid me all along. 'Cause he drapped his head down, an' he say dat she done make him promise to do it, when she done speak wid him, by hisse'f. . . . An' den I couldn' stand no mo', honey, de things dat was leapin' up in me fur me to say to him. But I couldn' say nothin', nuther, fur I couldn' make 'em out, dey done all turned black in my head. I couldn' make out nothin' only, dat I done fell down on my knees 'cause my strength done left me, an' dat my ears was full o' de soun' uv him a-walkin' down dem stairs, wid my baby an' her li'l one in his arms. . . .

'Peared lak honey, he'd nevah git to de bottom uv dem stairs. . . . nevah git thoo carryin' my baby an' de li'l one, down . . . . an' down . . . . an' down . . . .

An' den, I heerd him a-hammerin', agin . . . .

An den I couldn' heer nothin' but de soun' uv de wind a-blowin' thoo de trees out dere in de garden . . . .

It done commenced gittin' day outside, honey, an' a drizzlin' rain done set in, when he come back up dem stairs to my Eugenie's room. An' he walked lak he was a fetchin' her an' de li'l one back, agin. But when he stood in de do', I seed he was by hisse'f. An' he act lak he nevah seed me. He stood dere a-clutchin' de do' wid both han's lak he was afeared o'sump'n. Den bracin' his han's 'gin de wall, he walked roun' to de big chair in front o' de fire-place. An' when he done come to it, he shrunk down in it an' bowed his head in his han's.

I got up off o' my knees den, honey. An' when he heerd me git up, he reared his head up wild lak, an' commenced shakin' all ovah an' mumblin' sump'n —I couldn' make it out—an' twistin' his han's together . . . . Den he riz up out o' de chair, only he drap down on his knees befo' it, lak his strength done gone from him. An' den, all de time a-mumblin' sump'n, only now it 'peared lak he was a moanin', too, 'cause sump'n inside o' him done start hurtin' him, he drug hisse'f long side my Eugenie's bed. An' he took hold on de basket uv li-locks wid both his han's, an' turned to her bed, wid her an' de li'l one gone, an' commenced cryin' out fur her to open her eyes, fur her to look at de white li-locks—lak she was still a-layin' dere. 'Twasn't long, though, fur he fell to mumblin' agin—mumblin' an' cryin', wid his head bowed down 'mongst dem li-locks, 'twel it done come ovah him dat my baby couldn' evah answer him, no mo', couldn' evah look at dem white li-locks, no mo'. An' den, honey, he fell to tearin' 'em to pieces an' to cursin' de good Lawd 'cause He done took Eugenie an' de li'l one away . . . .

I seed den how 'twas wid him. An' I got afeared. I knowed I couldn' do nothin' wid him by myse'f, so I run to fetch him he'p . . . .

Honey, I wasn't a-runnin' 'way when dey found me on dat ole road. I was jus' a-goin' to fetch him he'p. Only—I done got turned roun' lak I'd nevah been on dat ole road befo'. I wasn't a runnin' away lak dem what foun' me 'lows I was 'cause I done done sump'n to him. I ain't nevah knowed nothin' 'bout conjurin' folks, honey. No mo'n dem what 'lows I done it. But 'cause dey found me a wanderin' long dat ole road in de rain, an' wid only my ole shawl an' dis ole flannel wrapper on—'cause dey foun' me dat a-way, an' dey foun' him a kneelin' side her bed wid dem li-locks all torn up, an' a-callin' her name, an' pleadin' wid her, an' dey ain't nevah foun' nothin' what'd sho' my Eugenie been a-living dere, too—dey 'lows I done put all dat on him, an' dat dey could'n a-been no-body in dat ole house 'cept me an' him . . . . But I nevah done nothin' to him, honey . . . . I done suffered a lot, but it ain't nevah make me want to harm no body . . . .

An' I been a-thinkin', too, honey,—he must a-loved my Eugenie lak he'd love one o' his own women kind, fur dem li-locks to turn him dat away . . . .

Dem growin' down dere in yo' yard —now. Dey's real pretty, honey, wid de sun a-shinin' on 'em . . . . real pretty—an' cheerin' lak.

Exploitation or Co-operation?

By W. C. MATNEY

IN the December CRISIS we published the first installment of this article. Mr. Matney studied the restricted occupations of Negroes and discrimination in expenditure. He then made a brief study of Negro business and shows how it was handicapped in competition with the chain store. He then turned to agriculture and concluded that the Negro was not holding his own there, asserting that Negro agricultural schools "have not solved and will not solve the problem of Negro success on Agriculture." He continues:

Agriculture does not lead an independent and isolated existence. It is part of a larger mechanism, both physical and pecuniary, which interrelates all branches of economic activity. The prosperity rests upon a delicate balance between those who live on the farms and those who live in the cities. It rests upon a delicate balance between transportation, manufacture, commerce and agriculture itself. The sensitive equilibrium of the great industries may be considered under the following heads:[14]

1. The balance of farm income with general income.
2. The balance of farm accumulation with the accumulation of wealth.
3. The balance of population between agriculture and industry.
4. The balance of production between agriculture and industry.
5. The balance of farm prices with other prices.

"Farming for white and black today in the United States is a failing, unprofitable business; and the efforts to help it—farm credits and farm relief,—are not for Negroes".[15] The real income of the farmer has normally been less than the real income of the remaining industrial population.[16]

During the most favorable period in American agriculture, the average per capita income on the farm was only a little more than one-half that of the people engaged in other major industries. In the worst years, as for example in 1920, the farm income is less than a third as much per capita as the income of other classes. For instance, it is found that if in the year 1913 the farmer had gone to work as a laborer, his average labor income would have been $444 instead of $328, as it was. If he had worked as a miner instead of as a farmer, he would have received $755 or about 70 per cent more than the income for his labor received on the farm.[17] Hence farm classes have never acquired riches from returns on their labor, because they have received on the average lower income than the workers in other occupations. The only income which the farmer has received resembling a profit has been the pure appreciation of his land value.

The dreams of wealth held by the Negro agricultural school, and which it widely advertised, have been rudely shattered by the alternating inflation and deflation of land values, and by the changes in the general price level at the same time as the changes in farm prices have occurred.

The future position of agriculture, and the position of Negro agriculture in particular, cannot be prognosticated with any degree of accuracy, since both are controlled by many unknown future conditions.

The present farm aid is not for the Negro. Future prospects for the Negro farmer, based on the past and present, are not encouraging.

George Foster Peabody writes of the first installment of this article in the December CRISIS:

"I must also congratulate your readers and I hope the readers of many papers which will have the wisdom to quote or reprint the excellent article by W. C. Matney, whose mentality intrigues me as I read this most worthwhile presentation."

Position of the Negro Restated

The present economic order may be sketched in a single picture: (1) the institution of private property, (2) free enterprise, (3) competition. The right to acquire, use and dispose of property is the strong incentive to produce goods. Free enterprise allows each fellow to follow his own self-interest. The natural accompaniment of free enterprise is competition. In short, the economic order has as its basis, opportunity. Into this economic order we find the Negro first introduced as a slave and denied all rights. Today he is slave of the industrial and commercial order by virtue of the industrial and commercial restrictions and denials imposed upon him. He lives in a competitive age but must not compete in a competitive market. In the meantime, the economic institutions remain the same with a steady output of wrongs, distress, troubles and injuries.

Reform Necessary

It is evident that the Negro is suffering from conditions in the economic order over which he has no control. The question naturally arises, how can relief be obtained, or what is the way out?

All problems of economic improvement are fundamentally two-sided; on one hand, they necessitate the alteration of institutions to better fit human nature; and on the other hand, they necessitate education of human nature to better fit institutions. The opinion of the writer is that the economic improvement of the Negro requires economic adaptation between these two factors. The reform should not be merely a gift from society to a needy group, but an organization of opportunity for self-achievement, and for race advancement by the creative effort of all members of the group. The reform must reshape the economic order of the Negro and eliminate the institutional difficulties under which he is now suffering. In other words, the reform must give the Negro an economic order over which he can exercise control as a free being in the economic order. This can only come through industrial and commercial undertakings owned and controlled by the Negro.

Requirements for Control

TO own and control industrial and commercial undertakings requires four basic factors: land, labor, capital and management. Land includes all natural resources,—crops, minerals, water, lumber. Land supplies the raw materials of production, and affords the opportunity for the extractive industries. Labor includes labor of brain as well as labor of hand. The mental tasks are specialized, and performed by highly trained engineers, me-

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[14] Lionel D. Edie, Economic Principles and Problems, page 320.

[15] Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, CRISIS, May, 1928, page 170.

[16] American Economic Review Supplement, March, 1923, page 137. Report of Joint Commission of Agriculture Inquiry, 1921, part 8, page 51.

[17] O. E. Baker, American Economic Review, March, 1923.

chanics, and executives. The manual tasks require obedience to orders and instructions worked out by management. Capital includes machinery, and all articles of value used for further production. Money is the productive agent. Management co-ordinates land, labor and capital into a going concern.

Under the present industrial and commercial regime it is next to impossible for the Negro to acquire the above factors in sufficient quantities to enable him to become an economic factor in American competition. As has been stated, exploitation and restricted occupational opportunity is the weapon used on the Negro. This being true, the Negroes' only real competition in business is with Negroes. Here, in recent years, he finds that large scale business is stepping in and sharing the Negro business to the detriment of the Negro competitors. The economic position of the Negro makes it impossible for him to meet the competition of the big business concerns.

A Way Out for the Negro

THE way out for the Negro is not by revolutionary methods but by evolution of his present economic order. He must build for himself an economic order that will enable him to be a power as a Negro race. This means an alteration of his present economic institutions to fit his defined needs, on the one hand, and on the other hand, a change in the point of view of the Negro to fit his changed economic institutions.

Co-operative industrial and commercial enterprise is the basis on which the Negro can become an economic power. It is the method by which the Negro race can marshall its forces in the most effective manner for the good of the race. It is the method by which Negroes can get control of natural resources, produce on their own farms, do their own manufacturing, distribute through their own stores, have their own banks, and not be controlled by the prejudice of the white man's economic order. It is the method that will give diversification in business and in industry. All Negroes are consumers, and all Negroes would be owners in the co-operative-economic order, owning and buying from themselves, working thereby for themselves, promoting the welfare of the race. This would give the Negro financial, industrial, and economic activity that is impossible otherwise.

Co-operative Business Explained and Demonstrated

CO-OPERATIVE BUSINESS is mutual aid on a business basis. The members of a co-operative business own the business, conduct it themselves (through a Board of Directors), confine their patronage to the business, and receive the profit-returns from the business on the basis of their purchases. A group of people with a common interest get together and form a co-operative society. Each member takes out a share of stock in order to provide the capital with which to start the enterprise. Each shareholder has one vote, regardless of the number of shares he has. A Board of Directors is elected to carry on the affairs of the group. Interest on capital stock is fixed at the current legal rate. Goods are sold the members for cash and at the current retail prices. Operating expenses are deducted, and a reserve fund for emergency is set aside. After this has been done, the remaining surplus-saving of the business is returned to the members in proportion to the purchases they have made with their co-operative society.

Co-operative business is not a fanciful theory but a practical method of doing business for mutual aid;—a method employed by other exploited groups similarly situated like the Negro. For instance: In a certain town seven hundred people organized a co-operative society for the purpose of operating a co-operative store. Each person put in $10, making a capital of $7,000. They confined their purchases to their store, paid current prices and did a business among themselves amounting to $140,000 for the year. There was a net profit of $5,500. The average purchase of each member was $200. He received back $8. He had invested $10. That is 80 per cent return. Furthermore, these people had given employment to some of their own group and were controlling a business institution. Multiply these stores and other co-operative undertakings, and one can readily see how the Negroes as owners, consumers and producers can control a chain of co-operative enterprises from retailing all the way back to the natural resources. By applying certain methods in a small way, a small co-operative society is built. By uniting many co-operative societies, and using the same natural methods, a great co-operative society is evolved. By expanding into more and more fields the social structure is gradually changed into a co-bperative structure.

Extent of Co-operative Business

The soundness of the co-operative movement has been demonstrated in Europe and America (36 countries of the world) by a stable and steady growth for three quarters of a century.

It would be difficult to mention any useful business of kind of service not undertaken by co-operatives. Bulletin number 437 of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, gives $500,000,000 for annual sales for consumer co-operatives in 1925. This figure does not include agricultural co-operation. With the figures for agriculture added, the total co-operative business for 1925 is in excess of two billion dollars.

Kinds of Co-operative Business in United States

Retail distributive stores are the most common co-operative enterprises in the United States. There are about 2,000 of these, with a total membership of about 750,000 and a total turnover of about $100,000,000 a year.

Co-operative insurance in the United States is found especially among farmers. It is highly successful. They carry insurance exceeding $6,000,000,000 on property valued at over $7,000,000,000. This insurance is carried at one-half the rate charged by profit making companies.

Milk distribution has been developed successfully. The Franklin Co-operative Creamery Association, in Minneapolis, has 6,000 members and $3,500,000 worth of milk yearly.

Co-operative bakeries have been highly successful. The Eastern States have 16 bakeries which use 60,000 barrels of flour a year.

Co-operative housing has been highly successful in New York City and Brooklyn. Around five thousand families are housed in true co-operatives in New York and Wisconsin. The property value runs into millions of dollars.

Co-operative gasoline and oil stations are a recent development in the co-operative movement.

A co-operative cafeteria in New York City, has five branches, 120 employees, 2,000 members and serves 3,000 meals a day. The annual business is over $500,000.

The Co-operative Central Exchange at Superior, Wisconsin, is a wholesale composed of sixty societies. This organization conducts a school for the training of co-operative executives. The Central Wholesale of Nebraska distributes seeds, flour, feed, coal, groceries, dry goods, clothing, hardware, machinery, and other goods. There are several small district wholesales.

What shall we do about it? After further figures concerning co-operation abroad and a comparison of private retail stores and co-operative stores, Mr. Matney will, in the February CRISIS, *conclude these articles by telling how co-operation can be established among American Negroes.*

THE N.A.A.C.P. BATTLE FRONT

Hon. H. H. Lehman, Lieutenant-Governor of New York

WHEN CHAMPIONS PASS

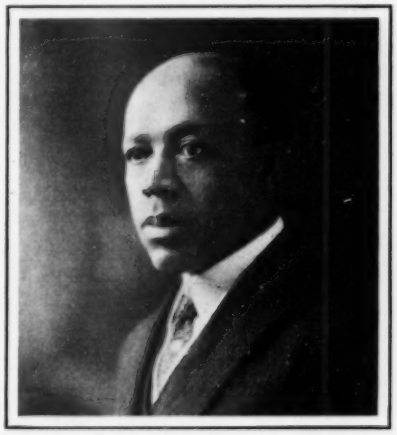
IN the history of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the year 1929 will be remembered as one of heavy losses. The man who was its President from the very beginning, who assumed the office when it required courage to do so, passed peacefully away at the age of 85 years. With the death of Moorfield Storey went the Association's last link with that stormy time when the nation was shaking itself free of slavery. For, as everyone knows, Moorfield Storey was secretary during the troubled Reconstruction period to Senator Charles Sumner.

That Mr. Storey was one of the most eminent lawyers in the nation, formerly a President of the American Bar Association, as well as of the bar associations in Boston and Massachusetts, a governing officer of Harvard University, a leader in the movement for civil service reform, only made his stand for the rights of the American Negro the more dramatic. He added his own elements of drama by helping to win the famous Grandfather Clause case, by which this flagrant form of disfranchisement was outlawed by the United States Supreme Court. And the classic case on residential segregation, Buchanan v. Warley, known as the Louisville Segregation case, by which cities and states are prohibited from establishing Negro ghettoes, was also argued and won by Mr. Storey before the Supreme Court.

This same champion procured from the United States Supreme Court in the Arkansas Peonage riot cases, a decision establishing that trials conducted in an atmosphere of mob domination do not constitute the due process of law required by the Constitution; a decision which safeguards the legal rights of all citizens, black and white alike.

The recital of victories and achievements familiar to colored people throughout the country and to white people desirous of decent race relations and of justice between the races, makes all the more clear and vivid the loss which the Association has sustained. It is one which can hardly be made good.

So too with the death of Louis Marshall, member of the Association's Board of Directors and of its National Legal Committee, who gave unstintingly of the resources of a brilliant legal mind to the problems of the Association. Mr. Marshall, in the last few years of his life, participated in those dramatic legal contests before the highest courts in the land, where the citizenship status of millions of colored people were at stake. It needs only to name the victory in the Texas White Primary case, safeguarding the ballot of the Negro and of all minority groups, the struggle against residential segregation by covenant among property owners, the Richmond segregation case and the Virginia White Primary case, in all of which Mr. Marshall participated, to show how active and intense his interest in the Association's work was.



T. G. Nutter

Other champions besides Mr. Storey and Mr. Marshall, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has lost during the year. There is Dr. Charles E. Bentley, of Chicago, one of the earliest supporters of the Association, a devoted member, who was always ready to be called upon in its service. He, too, contributed the prestige of renown in his profession. He was president for years of the Orthodontic Society. And though he was a colored man, white patients flocked to his dental office to avail themselves of his skill.

Last but not least in the list of vacancies made by death on the N. A. A. C. P. Board this year, is that of Paul Kennaday. Mr. Kennaday had wide connections in practical affairs. He was one of the directing spirits in a press news service which served the world. Through his contacts as well as by reason of his loyalty to the aims of the Association, he was one of the mainstays whose passing leaves a sad gap.

Despite these irreplaceable losses, the Association goes on. It goes on strengthened, if anything, by the thought that if the idea it represents, is vital enough to survive such losses, if it can attract to it new champions to carry on the work of the fallen leaders, then there is hope indeed for the future. And the Association is fortunate indeed to be able to report new additions to its ranks, of names honorably known throughout the nation.

At the moment of writing, four such (*Will you please turn to page* 31)

Mrs. Daisy Lampkin

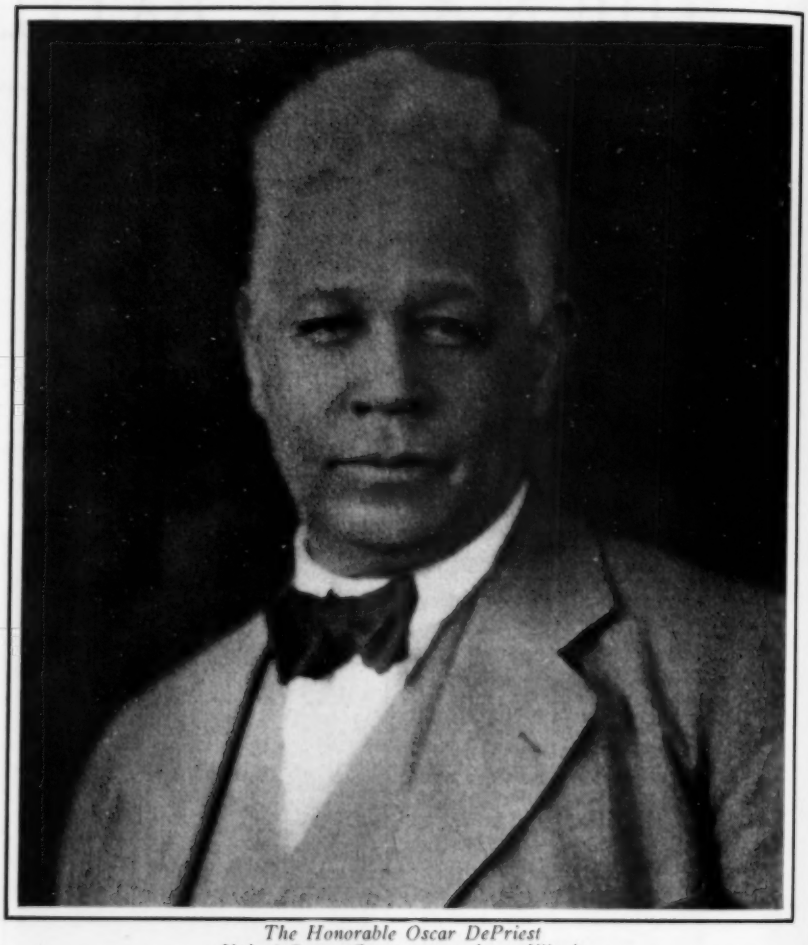
Black Rulers of White Folk

THERE is a legend that colored men can not rule over white communities without disaster,—disaster brought by their own incompetence and by the supposedly natural distaste of white people for colored folk in authority.

The United States of America is always pointed out as peculiarly exemplifying this situation. But like all generalizations, the statement never was wholly true and is growing less and less true. There have been from earliest times Negroes occupying positions of authority in America, some of them obvious and well-known possessors of Negro blood; others passing for white. At present, the number of American Negroes in official positions is large and growing. And this article indicates a few of them but by no means all.

First and foremost, comes the Negro member of Congress, Oscar DePriest, from the First District of Illinois. Mr. DePriest was preceeded in Congress by two Negro Senators, Hiram Revels, 1870-1871, and Blanche K. Bruce, 1875-1881. There were 21 colored members of Congress, who sat in various sessions from the 43rd to the 56th. With the defeat of George H. White of North Carolina, through the disfranchisement laws, there was a long hiatus until Mr. DePriest was elected in 1928.

There are today fourteen or more Negro members of State Legislatures. Illinois leads with four, followed by Missouri with three and New York and Pennsylvania with two each. Single members sit in California, Ohio, West Virginia and New Jersey. Illinois, in addition to her four members of the Lower House, has one colored State Senator, the only one in the United States.



The Honorable Oscar DePriest
United States Congressman from Illinois

American cities have numbers of colored officials. In New York, Chicago, Cleveland, there is one colored member of the Civil Service Commission, a powerful body, having charge of most appointments to public office. In Chicago, there are fourteen or more assistant city counsels, attached to the various prosecuting bodies. There are two Negro Aldermen and two members of important State Commissions. In Philadelphia, there are three Assistant City Solicitors, and one Assistant District Attorney. Cleveland has four

F. Q. Morton,
Civil Service Commissioner,
New York

Mrs. M. B. Martin,
Member of School Board
Cleveland

Harry E. Davis,
Civil Service Commissioner,
Member Charter Commission
Cleveland

Albert B. George,
Judge Municipal Court,
Chicago

Members of the Legislature

F. E. Rivers, N. Y. *P. B. Jackson, O.* *F. M. Roberts, Cal.* *T. E. Hill, W. Va.*

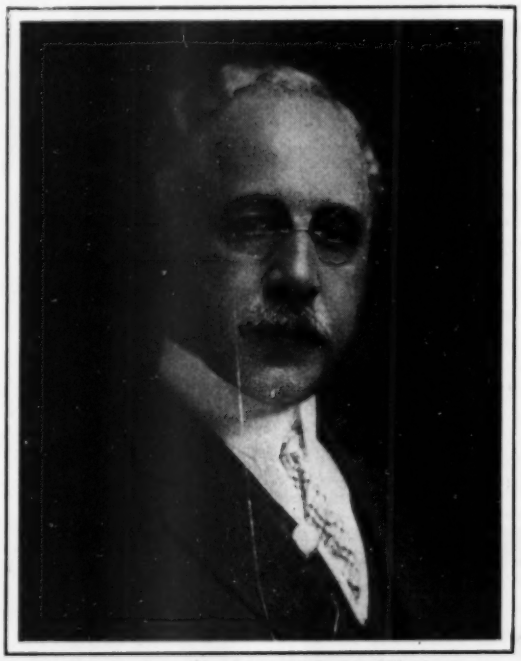
City Councilmen and a member of the Board of Education. In New York City, there are several Assistant Corporation Counsels and two Aldermen.

On the bench, the Negro is represented by Judge James Cobb of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia, and Judge Albert B. George, in the City of Chicago.

Some details concerning these and other office holders follow:

Mrs. Mary B. Martin was elected to the Cleveland Board of Education, defeating a white woman who was running for re-election. She is the first colored person in Cleveland to be so honored.

Mrs. Mary Brown Martin was born in Raleigh, North Carolina, fifty years ago. She was one of seven children. Mrs. Martin married Alexander H. Martin, a lawyer, and has taught school in the South and in Cleveland. She was graduated from the Central High School in 1900 and her daughter graduated from this same school twenty-five years later. In 1920, Mrs. Martin resumed teaching in the public schools of Cleveland.



State Senator, A. H. Roberts, Illinois

The Martins have four children. three of whom are in college. Mrs. Martin ran for membership on the Board of Education as an independent candidate. Her election is a remarkable occurrence and reveals the political power of the Negroes of Cleveland as no other political victory possibly could.

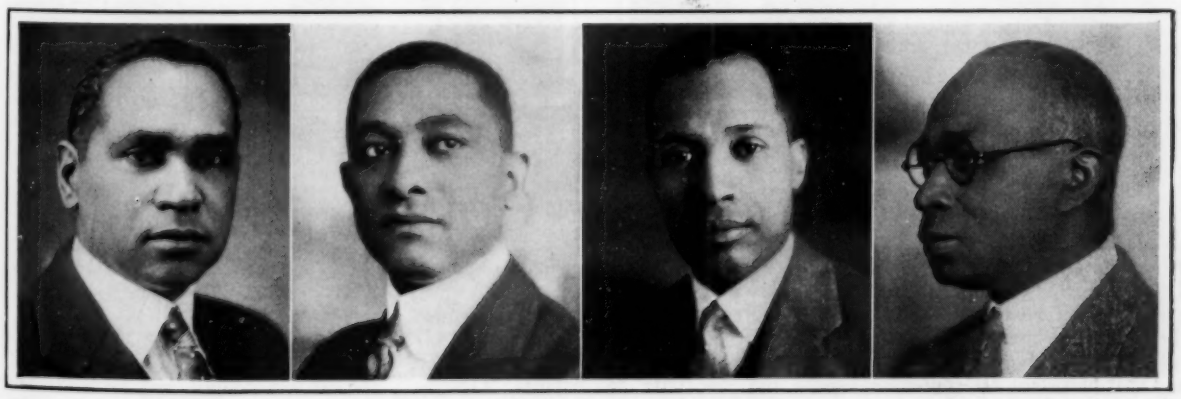
In the City of Cleveland, four colored men, Claybourne George, L. O. Payne, Dr. L. N. Bundy and R. S. Brown have been elected to the City Council.

In Buffalo, Jesse R. Taylor, has been elected to the City Council and is the first colored man to sit in that body.

F. Leon Harris of Asbury Park has been elected one of the Coroners of Monmouth County, N. J.

A. R. Johnson, the colored Mayor of Miles Heights, a suburb of Cleveland, was re-elected Mayor by 396 votes, to 238 for the next nearest candidate.

R. E. Black, now serving his second term as member of the City Council of Kimball, West Virginia, was born in 1892; educated in West Virginia and at Howard University, served in the A. E. F., and is the proprietor of a



H. B. Gaines, Ill. *W. E. King, Ill.* *W. A. Warfield, Ill.* *L. A. Knox, Mo.*

Members of City Councils

R. E. Black
Kimball, W. Va.

J. W. Moss
Kimball, W. Va.

J. C. Hawkins
New York

F. R. Moore
New York

drug store in Kimball.

J. W. Moss, a member of the City Council of Kimball, West Virginia, is fifty-six years of age and was educated at Virginia State College and in Chicago. He is Principal of the first Negro school to be admitted to the North Central Association. He will receive his degree of M. A. at Ohio State University next summer.

The highest elective position in Kansas held by a colored man was City Treasurer of Topeka. John Wright was elected to this position several times.

In Wilmington, Delaware, there are two colored members of the City Council, one member of the Board of Health, and one member of the Board of Education.

William E. King, member of the House of Representatives of Illinois, was born in Louisiana forty-three years ago, and did not learn to read and write until he was sixteen. He was admitted to the Bar in 1916; acted as Corporation Council of the City of Chicago 1919-23, Assistant State Attorney of Cook County from 1923 to 1925, and has served in the Legislature since 1925.

Robert R. Jackson was born in Chicago and was elected first to the legislature and then alderman and has held that position ever since. Louis Anderson is also an alderman of Chicago.

T. Edward Hill of Keystone, West Virginia, is the only Negro member of the West Virginia Legislature at present.

Perry B. Jackson is a member of the Ohio House of Representatives. He was born in Ohio in 1896, and educated at Western Reserve University; received his A. B. in 1919, magna cum laude and was elected to the Phi Beta Kappa. He graduated from Law School in 1922, and has been practicing since. In 1928, he was elected to the Ohio Legislature from Cuyahoga County, and is the only colored member. He is a member of the Cleveland City Club.

Missouri has three colored members of the Legislature; Walthall Moore of St. Louis, G. M. Allen of St. Louis, and L. A. Knox of Kansas City.

L. A. Knox was born and educated in Virginia and at Howard University. He was admitted to the bar in 1904 and is attorney for the local N. A. A. C. P. and the Masons. G. M. Allen was born in Tennessee, 1890; was admitted to the Bar in 1920; he was elected to the General Assembly in 1928.

William J. Warfield is a member of the House of Representatives of Illinois. He was born in Chicago in 1883; educated in the public schools, and served as Court Bailiff from 1906-12. He was elected to the Legislature in 1928. During the war, he was First Lieutenant in the 370th Infantry, and received the French Croix de Guerre and the American Distinguished Service Cross.

H. B. Gaines, member of the House of Representatives of the State of Illinois, was born in Kentucky and educated in Chicago. While a student, he became journeyman plasterer and afterward contractor. He was then admitted to the Bar, and in 1925, was appointed Assistant State Attorney. In 1928, he was elected to the Illinois Legislature. He is married and has two children.

Russell S. Brown is a member of the City Council of the City of Cleveland and Pastor of the Mount Zion Congregational Church. He was (*Will you please turn to page* 34)

Dr. F. S. Hargrave, Member of New Jersey Legislature

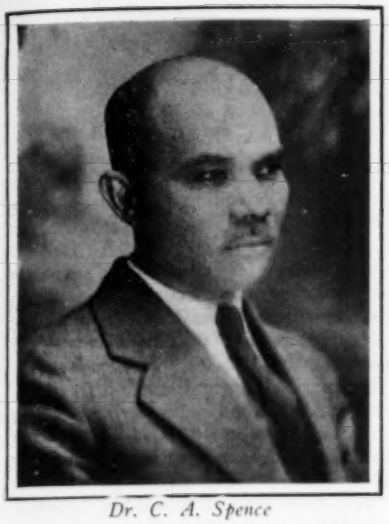
Rev. R. S. Brown, Member City Council, Cleveland

Two Southern Court Cases

IT is notorious that Negroes obtain justice in Southern courts with great difficulty, particularly if one of the parties is white. But the following cases show that a change is coming, and that persistent determination, legal talent and a just cause are beginning to have a chance, even in Georgia and South Carolina.

Readers of THE CRISIS may remember that in our issue of August, 1927, we recited the case of Dr. C. A. Spence and his wife in Atlanta, Georgia. Briefly, the facts were as follows:

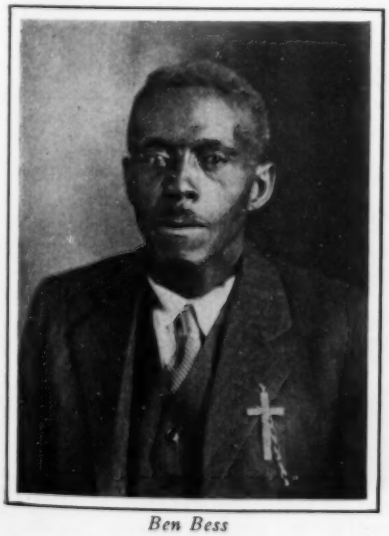
Dr. Spence is a dentist, and his wife a pharmacist. They were riding on a street car, when a dispute arose between the conductor and a colored passenger concerning transfer. Suddenly, the car was stopped, and the conductor yelled: "Every damn Nigger get off!"



Dr. C. A. Spence

All of the Negroes, except Dr. Spence and his wife, rushed out, and as they emerged, were beaten by the employees and white bystanders. Dr. Spence and his wife remained quietly in their seats. When they refused to move, they were first attacked and beaten, and then arrested. The Spences secured two colored attorneys, A. T. Walden, President of the Atlanta Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., and a former Captain in the A. E. F., and A. W. Ricks. The case was remanded to the Superior Court from the Recorder's Court, and seven months later, Dr. Spence and his wife were acquitted of the charge of disorderly conduct!

Most colored people in the South would have been glad to stop here; but not the Spences. They not only sued the street car company, but against strong advice, retained their colored counsel. The colored firm secured a white firm to assist them, and went into court. On Wednesday, October 23, three years after the original argument, and after a three-day trial before ex-Governor Hugh M. Dorsey, a verdict of $1,500 in favor of Dr. Spence and his wife, was handed down by the court. Dr. C. A. Spence is a British subject, a native of Jamaica, and a graduate in dentistry of Howard University. He has been practicing in Atlanta since September, 1925. His wife was born and educated at Cordele, Georgia, and is a graduate of Meharry.



Ben Bess

The other case is the celebrated one of Ben Bess, in South Carolina. Ben Bess owned a large farm and one of his tenants was a white family, named Collins. Bess was accused of having raped the wife, Maude Collins, and was sentenced to the penitentiary for thirty years, in 1915.

In the spring of 1928, Maude Collins confessed that she had lied in her testimony against Ben Bess. The case aroused widespread interest and on recommendation of the State Solicitor, the Governor suspended the sentence of Bess during good behavior, and he was released from the penitentiary on May 4th. On May 12th, he was given an unconditional pardon.

Meantime, the white people of Florence were mad and busy, and threatened to indict Maude Collins for perjury. Mrs. Collins immediately declared that she had only intended to say that she "forgave" Bess and that as a matter of fact he was guilty. On June 21, the Governor suggested that Bess re-enter the penitentiary for his own security, but he was not allowed to depart when he wanted to.

In July, the intrepid colored attorney, N. J. Frederick, who rendered such splendid and self-sacrificing service in the case of the lynching of the Lowman family, instituted habeus corpus proceedings to have Bess freed. Two days before the return of the writ, the Governor revoked the pardon of Bess, on the ground that it was obtained by fraud and misinformation.

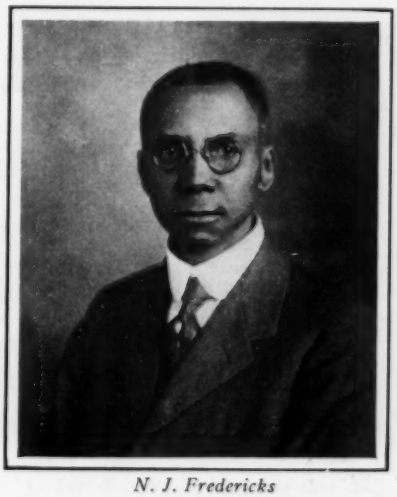
The case came up August 23rd before Judge Townsend. He undertook to investigate and pass on the question of fraud and misinformation, but the attorney contended that he had no right to consider this matter, since Bess had been pardoned and a pardon could not be revoked. Nevertheless, the Judge remanded Bess to the penitentiary and ordered the Master in Equity for Richland County to take testimony on the question of fraud and to report.

The Master found that no fraud had been perpetrated and that while Mrs. Collins may not have understood the full purport of the affidavit, no unfair advantage had been taken of her in the transaction, and that she had not repudiated her statement until threats of prosecution had been brought against her.

Mrs. D. A. Spence

The Attorney General of the state filed exceptions and on August 23rd, the Judge ruled that notwithstanding the Master's findings, that fraud had been practiced in the transaction and that because of the fraud the pardon was void. The prisoner, therefore, would have to be sent back to the penitentiary.

Appeal was made to the Supreme Court, and argued November 12, 1928. No decision was rendered, but on October 12, 1929, in an en banc session of all the Circuit Judges with the Supreme Court, a re-argument was made, with the result that the judges agreed in reversing the lower court and decided by a vote of nine to seven that the revocation of the pardon was illegal, and that Bess must be freed. On October 15, 1929, Bess was discharged from the penitentiary and left the same day for Pennsylvania.



N. J. Fredericks

In Haiti

This article was written before the recent revolt in Haiti. It illustrates the "Freedom of the Press" under American military tyrants. When will the Kellogg Pact reach Haiti? We appeal to Mr. Litvinoff.

A GRAPHIC description of the proceedings at the Palace of Justice states that on April 22, 1929, the day of the trial of the well-known and militant Nationalist editors, George Petit and the youthful Jacques Roumain,—twenty-one years of age,—the Palace was surrounded by military forces under the command of American Marine officers, the troops being distributed even along the neighboring streets. Within the court itself U. S. officers were standing armed with revolvers and filled cartridge belts. Among the Marine officers were Major Murray, Chief of Police, Captain Shafter, Assistant Chief and Lieutenants Leveque, Steele, Usher and Detro.

At each window of the courtroom two Haitian constables were on guard, and immediately behind the Judge an American officer Belton by name and a Frenchman called Bonté were stationed. Bonté is brutality personified and generally supposed to be a former French convict. He is in charge of the Haitian Secret Service, a man of mystery, mysteriously landed in Haiti.

When the two young Nationalists were escorted to the Court Room practically all the seats were already occupied by government employees and spies. Lawyers were denied the customary reservations and as the Judge, a puppet of President Borno and General Russell, had ordered that no one could stand, other visitors were forced to leave the room. It is unnecessary to say that the government and the American authorities were acting in vicious violation of our Penal Code procedure and of Article 96 of the Constitution which provide in the matter of Press Offenses, that the hearings must be open to the public and this without any restrictions whatsoever.

A few minutes after ten o'clock the trial began. It was so impressive that the spies and government employees corralled there for the added purpose of interrupting the statements of the accused, remained silent before the vigorous eloquence of young Roumain, explaining his reasons for having referred to Borno as a traitor to Haiti and a tool of American Imperialism.

At the conclusion of the trial, some lawyers and the sister of young Roumain arose to tender their congratulations to Monsieur Frech Chatelain, of counsel for the defense, for his magnificent address in behalf of these two Nationalist editors. As Roumain, in turn, was extending his arms to greet his sister he was seized by the American Lieutenant Belton. A hand-to-hand encounter between the two men ensued during which the brute Bonté attempted to shoot Roumain with his revolver and was prevented only by the intervention of one of the lawyers, M. Hermar Maletrandre. Then Bonté, not to be denied, inflicted with a club a severe wound on the head of Roumain, blood being spattered to within a few feet of the Judge's seat, without regard for the sanctity of the Court or of Haitian justice.

Instead of being protected by the court an accused, submitting to trial, is assaulted by a spy.

Those who believing he was being murdered came to the rescue of Roumain were beaten with clubs by the Haitian constables under command of American officers. Roumain was hurried to the City Hospital and subsequently returned to the prison in which he and Petit had already, preceding the trial, been confined for five months.

Their paper, *Le Petit Impartial*, has been suppressed. They were condemned and sentenced each to one year in the Haitian Bastile, and each to a fine of one thousand dollars, and in

(*Will you please turn to page* 32)

The President's Palace, Port-au-Prince.

THE BROWSING READER

WHO WILL WRITE THE OTHER SIDE?

LISTENERS-IN to the Democratic National Convention at Houston last year will remember the staccato and partisan rhetoric with which the temporary Chairman, Mr. Claude G. Bowers, Editor of the *New York Evening World,* opened the proceedings. Mr. Bowers has now produced an equally staccato and partisan history of the Reconstruction period, which he calls "The Tragic Era". It has been highly praised as a "well-documented" study based on industrious research, and Mr. Bowers' preconceived conclusions have been accepted by some so-called "reviewers" as demonstrated proof after the manner of a Euclidean proposition.

These conclusions—I state them in my own, not the author's words—are, briefly, that the Southern states were cruelly abused by Congress and the carpetbag governments that Congress supported; that the plan of President Johnson was a righteous one; that the attempts of one Southern state after another to enforce vagabondage laws that would have set up a condition of peonage scarcely distinguishable from the slavery it had taken four bloody years to overthrow were justified; that unrestricted Negro suffrage was an outrage; that any kind of equality—political, legal, social—between the two races was properly fought to the bitter end; that the Southerners were patient under persecution till patience ceased to be a virtue; that reports in Democratic newspapers of those days of misdeeds by Negroes were truthful and accurate while reports in Republican papers of abuse of Negroes by whites were inventions or grossly exaggerated; that the leaders in the North of the fight to make abolition real were either insincere and crooked or were crazed by fanaticism while their opponents were patriots and statesmen all. Even the Ku-Klux Klan is applauded, though Mr. Bowers must still smart from the remembrance of what that order, resurrected but unchanged in spirit, did for the defeat of his own Presidential candidate one year ago. The "historian's" imposing list of sources cannot conceal the fact which he himself makes clear in his footnote references that his book is the product mainly of diligent search in old files of the copperhead *New York Herald* and the partisan *New York World.* The Bowers book licks the hands that smote Alfred Smith in 1928, and as a Democrat and a Smith man who believes that until the Democratic party dares to cut loose from the burden of Southern Bourbonism that has crippled it so long and to demand fair play for native colored Americans as well as for foreign-born whites and their immediate descendants, it will contrive to meet deserved disaster, I protest against the author's implications.

Who will write a clear, impartial history, free from passion and race bias, of Reconstruction and the Negro's part in it? Is there not here a worthy task for an American historian of African ancestry? Or, if this be asking too much, who will write the Negro's side of the story written by Mr. Bowers from the viewpoint of the Negro's despisers? Mr. Bowers' implicit thesis is that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments in their relation to suffrage and human equality are wrong. In rebuttal let the explicit thesis be that they are everlastingly right and that the white South never did a worse thing for herself than when, with the connivance of both political parties, she attacked and scuttled them. Mr. Bowers repeats *ad nauseam* that the former slaveholders understood the Negro best and were his best friends. In rebuttal let it be shown that they understood him worst and—with all due praise for such benevolence as they extended to the servile Negro—that they were (and their spiritual descendants are) the worst enemies of the Negro struggling toward manliness and equality with his fellows.

FRANK C. WELLS.

BURSTING BONDS

BURSTING BONDS is an autobiography I would like to put in the hands of every boy and girl in our country. Mr. Pickens writes with simplicity and directness of his struggles as a boy against the worst handicaps any human being can face: race prejudice, illiteracy, poverty, and lack of opportunity. Over these seemingly insurmountable obstacles to freedom, this Negro boy climbs to heights of attainment that take him from a wretched share-farm cabin in Arkansas to Phi Beta Kappa honors and prize orator at Yale.

Reading this story puts backbone into one's vertebrae, enlarges the finer sympathies of the soul, increases hope in the goodness of men, and deepens the longing for that day when all unprivileged boys and girls, especially those denied common justice, may come to their own.

Dealing, as Mr. Pickens is forced to in his life story, with the problem of race prejudice, he is remarkably free from bitterness. Every man and woman interested in bettering race relations between the white and colored races of our country, will find inspiration in these pages; every father and mother hoping for their children aspirations to high ideals and friendly attitudes, will find time well-spent reading this book in the family circle. My own children were thrilled by this story, while it proved a window through which they were enabled to see and understand the heart-throbs of thousands of boys and girls not of their race but of their common humanity, heirs with them of American citizenship in this great hour.

There is no field in American life today, where religion has so utterly failed to create the spirit of brotherhood and understanding as in this realm of race-relations. Every church in the land should see to it that their young people are encouraged to read this book. If the religion of Jesus cannot lead us out of our miserable prejudices, based solely on color and pride of race, its great Founder will have failed so far as American Christianity is concerned.

S. RALPH HARLOW,
Professor of Religion and Biblical Literature, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts.

A NEW FRENCH BOOK ON THE U. S. A.

Franck L. Schoell. *U.S.A. du Coté des blancs et du coté des noirs.* Paris, Champion. 1929.

WITHIN the last few years several excellent studies of the United States have come from French pens, among them the volume by André Siegfried and Charles Cestre. The author of this new volume is a former professor of French of the University of Chicago, Tulane University and

(*Will you please turn to page* 32)

THE POET'S CORNER

From the Dark

By PHILIP M. HARDING

ALL night I called you. Fevered all the night
I looked for you; but the wan sprinkled light
Of stars was all I saw—and linking trees
And dogwood blossoms twisting in the breeze.

All that I heard were cries of hidden things,
And the loose beating of Death's scrawny wings
Behind the moon; these things were all I heard—
Never the sound of footsteps or a word.

Long hours I watched. Long hours I called your name
Into the night's suspended purple flame . . .
Yet all my cries fell through the air to bring
The worse-than-silence of their echoing.

These Things I Love

By J. ALPHEUS BUTLER

A GRACEFUL palm tree bending over the bay,
The vitreous blue-tint of the gulf shore calm.
Miles of road winding down the hidden way;
Gentle lips at evening murmuring a psalm.
A shaded alcove near the singing stream;
Vagaries in August; sturdy trees;
Galleons in summer clouds which yet seem
Ready for a voyage upon celestial seas.
Tall grasses; garden paths; banjo tunes at dark;
Rich cadences of a young girl's song;
Mating cries at morning, from lark to lark;
Melodies which linger in the soul all day long.
A square or so of land whereon to grow
Stronger, finer, wiser. These things I love and know.

Ethiopians

By GEORGE REEVES

WHEN Solomon was over-wifed
who roused his lyricism?
Who was the gorgeous one who knifed
his vaunted skepticism?

When Jeremiah was in jail
because of base intriguing,
who was the man who gave the bail
and urged the king's reneging?

Who was the burden-sharing soul
that pitied the Messiah
when men were under mob control
and ruled by Satan's fire?

Who was it in a chariot
swung low en route to Gaza
that took the Cross, to carry it
to realms of great Candace?

Oh! Ethiopians they were,
praised be their holy lives!
And what excitement they will stir
when Judgment Day arrives!

Unmasked

By MARGARET E. HAUGHAWOUT

THE keen sharp edge of some despair would pierce
His every word my casual question brought;
Some hot relentless hate of life; a fierce
And breathless horror of some bond that caught
And held him fixed to circumstances which
Were now (though once perhaps a golden tie)
Abhorrent shackles . . . Sitting in the niche
Above the lake we talked and then passed by.
I can't recall his face; but do the shame
I felt at having seen his heart made bare
Because, like God, I gave no answer, came
No nearer, did not listen much nor care.
. . . Does this hot shame sweep God when through barrage
He sees my bared heart, stripped of camouflage?

POEMS

By DOROTHY TYLER

Carrying Cane in Barbados

SO it was I saw them: In the field
The sun bent all its fiery rays to yield
The sugar cane. They love the sun. these tall
And splendid black ones, free of limb. When all
The year is sun they laugh—what needs it more?
Pointed of breast these women, all their lore
Memory of song and sun—the sun so close
To those who carry cane in Barbados.

Octoroon Girl Among Anglo-Saxons

LITHELY you walk through this warm yellow light
That autumn brings; lithely and all alone.
Perhaps young Eve walked in the garden so—
She was the only woman in the world.

Mostly the cold white, silent North is there,
But in your brown eyes broods the great South sun
And withers us, and you are not as we.

How beauty goes afield to seek her ends!
Who else could touch old fire to ice as old,
And bring forth this new fire?

Upon Hearing Roland Hayes Sing

I WONDER if he saw them there—
The faces, black among the fair:
Did he say, I'll sing to these
And let the white think as they please?
Did he say, I'll sing of grief,
Of tenderness and black belief?

He sang, and though he sang to those
He sang to us. Of what old woes
Did he not sing, of what new spring,
And love, that new, loves everything.

Black Love

By BEATRICE ROBINSON

JIM was the "big town" sheik
When she first came.
Back home; there hadn't been a soul
Like Jim.
When he kissed her—it thrilled.
She felt funny when people gazed
At her and Jim;
But he was fair.
Let them stare.
Hadn't he asked her to marry him?

Three years had passed;
Jim had lost his job,
And there were three children,
Twins and Teena-baby.
So when Jim took sick,
She had to take in more washing.
Sometimes until after midnight—
She ironed.
But she still loved Jim. . . .
Even tho' he got drunk sometimes.

And then the other baby came,
But Jim was working
At a foundry.
So things were easier,
Less washing to do; . . . until . . .
One day she got a note . . .
Jim was dead.
An accident at the foundry.
They sent his body home.

Years had passed since then.
The twins and Teena-baby worked.
She didn't mind living. . . .
She had a big son—
Just like Jim.

ALONG THE COLOR LINE

EUROPE AND AMERICA

¶ The Society of Friends held a Conference November 27 in London to discover what color prejudice exists in Great Britain and how it can best be removed. An Inter-racial Committee was appointed.

¶ Alcide Delmont, colored Deputy from Martinique, is a member of the new French Cabinet under Tardieu. He is serving as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

¶ Lieutenant-Colonel John E. Green, the ranking Negro officer in the United States Regular Army, has been retired on his own application after 30 years' service. Lieutenant-Colonel B. O. Davis, now the ranking colored officer, is Professor of Military Science at Wilberforce.

¶ The American Medical Association has recognized twenty-five Negro colleges in Class One for fulfilling its requirements.

¶ The Honorable William Henry Hunt has been made United States Consul in Portugal. He will be stationed in the Azores Islands. Mr. Hunt was born in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1869. He was educated at Lawrence Academy, Groton, Massachusetts, and Williams College. He married Miss Ida Gibbs in 1904. He served as clerk, vice-consul and consul in Madagascar from 1898-1906. From 1906 to 1927, he was consul at St. Etienne, France, where he was by far the most popular foreigner in the city, and was especially prominent during the war. In 1927, he was sent to Guadeloupe. Mr. Hunt is a member of the International Rotary Club and a man of wide acquaintanceships and genial character.

THE EAST

¶ National Negro Public Health Week will be observed March 30 to April 6, 1930. A preliminary conference concerning the matter was called by the Surgeon-General of the United States Public Health Service, last October. It was attended by a number of white and colored experts.

¶ The work of the John F. Slater Fund in encouraging county training schools is strikingly illustrated by the latest figures. In 1912, there were 4 such schools, with 20 teachers, and 77 high school pupils. In 1928, there were 328 such schools, with 2,379 teachers, and 14,092 pupils in high school grades. During the same period, salaries have increased from $3,344 to $1,269,228. Of this latter sum, the Slater Board has contributed in 1928 $100,675 and the General Education Board, $45,164. The rest came from public funds.

¶ The forty-five thousand striking dressmakers of New York City have invited the four thousand Negro dressmakers to confer with them and to join their union. Only a few hundred Negroes now belong to the Union and most Negroes receive $15 a week instead of the $40, which is the scale in the Union shops.

¶ The Harlem League of the Greater New York Federation of Churches has been organized. It is studying conditions and finds that wages are too low, health bad, and the proportion of arrests by the police high. On the other hand, some of the largest churches in New York are located in Harlem and there are many welfare agencies.

¶ The Otilla M. Beha Junior High School, Number 60, in Manhattan, New York City, has as vice-president of the general student body, Mattie Peebles, a colored girl.

¶ In York, Pennsylvania, an inter-racial banquet has been held in the

Mrs. J. N. Scott, page 24

The DeJoie Family of New Orleans, page 24

The Father *The Mother* *The Eldest Daughter* *The Eldest Son*

African M. E. Zion Church. Dr. George W. Bowles, President of the Inter-racial Committee presided and among the guests were the Mayor of the City, the President of the School Board, the Secretary of the Y. M. C. A., the President of the Kiwanis Club, and many distinguished citizens.

¶ W. A. Tooks, a colored man of Philadelphia, began to manufacture coffins in 1921, with a capital of $350. He has now property valued at $50,000, employs seven men, and manufactures 2,100 caskets annually, using more than four carloads of lumber.

¶ W. H. Phillips, a colored contractor of Charlotte, North Carolina, has secured the contract for the brick, tile and stone work on the medical and surgical building at St. Elizabeths' Hospital, Washington, D. C.

¶ At the State Conference of the W. C. T. U., New Jersey, Mrs. Gertrude W. Cannon, an extension worker, was awarded the prize for an address on how to overcome the efforts of groups organized to overthrow the 18th Amendment.

¶ The effort of Morgan College to raise funds has resulted in $125,627 being collected from colored people and $433,583 from educational funds, the State of Maryland and white friends. With the money collected, the debt has been paid, Baldwin Hall has been built, a water system installed, and a new Science Hall begun.

¶ Lincoln University has an enrollment of 350 students. The largest in her history. A new dormitory to cost $150,000 is needed. The General Education Board has appropriated $50,000. The Carnegie Corporation of New York has donated $25,000 for the purchase of new books for the library.

¶ John Wanamaker, Jr., announces a Third Contest in Musical Composition for Negro composers. There will be four sets of prizes: First, for a song; the second, for instrumental dance music; the third, for arrangements of Negro spirituals; and the fourth, for choral work with band accompaniment. The prizes in the first Three Classes are $150 First Prize, and $100 for the Second Prize. In the Fourth Class, there is one prize of $250.

¶ The Allied Art Center of Boston under Maud Cuney Hare has presented John F. Matheus' Haitian folk play, "Tambour", with incidental music by Clarence Cameron White.

THE SOUTH EAST

¶ Hampton Institute Extension Department will conduct a fourth European tour next summer, at a cost to vary from $440 to $565. The group will visit France, Belgium, Holland and Germany, and at a slight additional cost, either England or the Oberammergau Passion Play.

¶ Twice last month white men with faces blackened as Negroes have committed crimes. In Savannah, one such youth robbed an automobile, but was knocked off and killed. Another, in Norfolk, attacked a white woman in her room but was knocked unconscious. In both cases, the assailants were discovered to be white.

¶ O. K. Armstrong, special writer for the *New York World* and *St. Louis Dispatch*, has shown that Negroes in lumber and naval camps are bought and sold for $50 to $150 a head in certain parts of Florida.

¶ The Insurance Commissioner of North Carolina has refused to allow the colored Pythian Grand Lodge to borrow money in order to pay their indebtedness to the Supreme Lodge. The Grand Lodge has been suspended for nearly two years. The Ohio Grand Lodge is protesting the payment of its dues. All these difficulties arise because of the cost of the Pythian Temple in Chicago.

¶ Rufus Turner, a colored radio expert of Ashville, North Carolina, has received the monthly prize of the

Beha Junior High School Student Officers, New York; page 21

Three Baby Prize Winners, San Diego, page 25

American Radio Relay League of Hartford, Connecticut, for the best article on "Bettering Radio Communication on the High Frequencies."

THE MIDDLE WEST

¶ Neisner Brothers, a Five and Ten Cent chain organization, have stores with entire colored personnels in Detroit and in Chicago.

¶ The colored Masonic Temple at 40th and State Street, Chicago, has been sold for debt.

¶ Bishop A. J. Carey of the African M. E. Church and his former private secretary have been indicted in Chicago for accepting bribes from candidates for promotion in the Police and Fire Department. He is free on a bond of $25,000.

¶ Cleveland has a city manager and proportionate representation for the election of councilmen. This enables minority groups, like the Negroes, to secure full representation. The politicians have wished to change all this and have an elected mayor and council chosen by wards. In order to consider these proposals and make some needed changes in the charter, a Charter Commission has been appointed. On this Commission, the Honorable Harry E. Davis, a colored man, now a member of the Civil Service Commission and formerly for many years a member of the Legislature, has been appointed.

¶ Charles Bowles, who was elected Mayor of Detroit, had the wholehearted support of colored citizens because of his promise to remove Police-Commissioner William Rutledge, who has allowed the wanton shooting of many colored men by the police.

¶ For a second time, a court has decided against the validity of clauses in deeds which prohibit sale to colored people. The first case was in West Virginia and the last in Columbus, Ohio. There Joseph Bulen, a white real estate dealer, tried to oust Mrs. Daisy Rice from her home in the Bulen Allottment. Mrs. Rice purchased the lot seven years ago and recently erected a brick house at a cost of $25,000. The lawyer for the complainant declared that there was a national organization of white real estate men to prevent Negroes from buying certain properties. The Judge threw the case out of court.

¶ The Julius Rosenwald Fund has been awarding Fellowships to promising Negro students with a view to preparing them for different lines of work, either in teaching or in other lines of public service. The Fund is prepared to consider persons recommended, particularly in the fields of public health, library training, home economics and vocational agriculture. Such candidates are sought by consultation with the president of schools and colleges with a view to helping them to improve their faculties. The Fund thus quietly seeks the best people and does not wish to encourage personal applications.

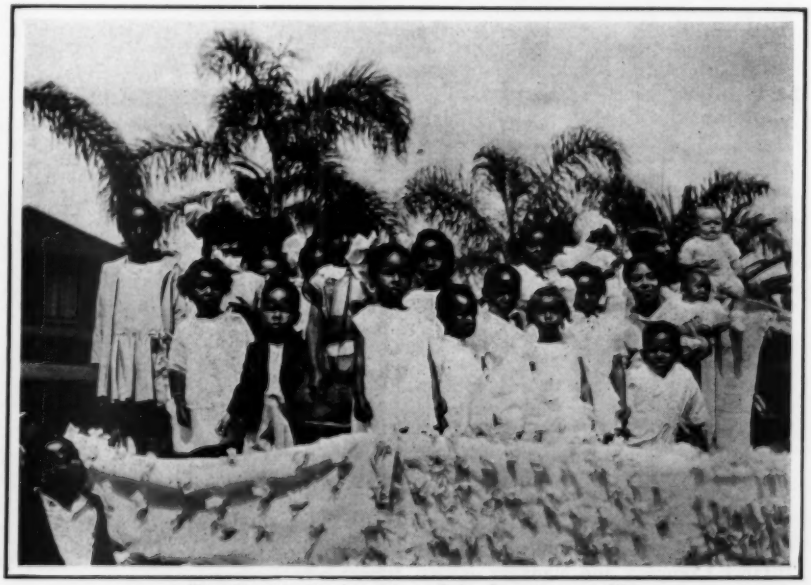
¶ Former City Councilman, Thomas W. Fleming of Cleveland, has secured a review of his case by the Supreme Court of Ohio. He was convicted of bribery.

THE NORTH WEST

¶ The State Board of Medical Examiners of Michigan, by unanimous vote, has placed Meharry Medical College on a basis of reciprocity with all other medical colleges of Class A standing. This rule was made retroactive to 1923.

¶ To Willie Gertrude Brown should go the credit for the new $100,000 brick building dedicated as the Phillis Wheatley Settlement House in Minneapolis last October. Five years ago, Miss Brown began the work in a small frame structure, assisted by the Y. W. C. A. A bequest of $10,000 from the late Mrs. F. H. Wellcome, a white woman, started the Building Fund and led by Mrs. James Paige, a representative in the State Legislature, a campaign during the summer of 1928 resulted in cash donations sufficient to build the present institution. The first

Mock Wedding at Zion Methodist Church, Jamaica, Long Island



The Float in the San Diego Baby Parade, page 25

Miss W. G. Brown, page 23

floor has a gymnasium and an assembly room with a stage, a library, music room, day nursery and offices. On the second floor, is a men's reception and game room and living quarters for the resident workers, with nineteen bedrooms. In the basement, are game rooms for boys and girls, athletic rooms, carpenter shops, showers, laundry and a community kitchen.

¶ Miss Brown, the Head Resident, was born in Charlotte, North Carolina, and has been connected with various forms of social service throughout the country. She came to Minneapolis from Dayton, Ohio.

MIDDLE SOUTH

¶ Mrs. H. R. Butler of Atlanta, Georgia, has been made a member of the White House Child's Conference and will serve on the Committee on the Infant and Pre-School Child. Mrs. Butler represents the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers.

¶ The Chase Science Hall at Fisk University has sustained a damage of $30,000 by fire. The loss is partially covered by insurance.

¶ Joseph DeJoie, who recently died in New Orleans, was the son of Jules DeJoie, a chef on the Mississippi river steamboats. Joseph was born in 1881, educated in the public schools of New Orleans, and at Southern University and New Orleans University. He was married to Louise Borel in 1904 and opened his drug store in 1908. At his death he was Treasurer of the Louisiana Independent Life Insurance Company and manager of two drug stores. He had ten children, three of whom are working in his drug stores, and seven are in school and college.

"We who knew Joseph Dejoie intimately, knew his head to be clear and habituated to clear thinking; we knew his heart to be big and generous. His contributions to charity were many. A Catholic by birth and training, he did not restrict his gratuities to its charities alone. He had the broader view that made all mankind kin. Perhaps he was even better known by that host of people farthest down, those of humble circumstances. He was adviser and helper to many of them in the intimate things which touched their lives.

"No better tribute to the worth of any man could be accorded than to see hundreds of these people crowd the house and church and with tears of honest feeling streaming down their cheeks, just to get a last look at the friend that was gone."

SOUTH WEST

¶ John H. Lewis, for eight years President of the Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Georgia, is now Principal of the High School and Junior College at Little Rock, Arkansas. This college will soon be housed in a modern building costing approximately $500,000. The General Education Board and the Rosenwald Foundation are helping in the project.

¶ Dr. Thomas A. Crump, of Phoenix, Arizona, made the second highest mark of the examination of the State Dental Board. He is a graduate of the University of Southern California, and is the third colored dentist to take the Board Examination in the last ten years. Out of a class of forty, only seventeen passed.

¶ Laurence A. Tillis of the 24th Infantry has been awarded a medal for courage in rescuing four soldiers from drowning at the peril of his own life.

PACIFIC COAST

¶ Fifteen students of the McCoppin School, Oakland, California, took part in a spelling bee. Phyllis Foreman, colored and eleven, won the contest. For the last two years she has taken prizes in French.

Consul William H. Hunt and French Officials at St. Etienne, page 21

¶ Mrs. J. M. Scott of Los Angeles, California, is so modest a person that it has taken us two years to secure her picture. She is a type of the quiet unselfish but singularly successful social leader. She is the founder and for nine years president of the Sojourner

Phillis Wheatley Settlement House, Minneapolis, page 23

Truth Home in Los Angeles, a clean and beautiful residence for colored working girls. Under her guidance, the home was built and paid for. She was organizer of two N. A. A. C. P. baby contests which secured more than $10,000 for the National Office and the local branch. She has been a resident of Los Angeles for more than thirty years, and has long been a member of the executive committee of the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P.

¶ San Diego, California, had a fine baby contest this year and a remarkable parade. We are showing some of the groups. A baby fraternity was organized.

¶ The officers of the fraternity are: Peggie Hawkins, President; Rose Marie Osby, Vice President; Marjorie McFadden, Secretary. There are now three chapters of the Picken's Baby Fraternity in California.

¶ Josephine Foreman, who graduated from the University of California in June, 1928, was the first colored graduate from San Francisco in nine years, and previous to that time there had been no such graduate for twenty years. This year, Miss Foreman returns to study for her Master's Degree.

WEST INDIES

¶ The Reverend William Forde of Costa Rica, Central America, is in charge of ten schools and Congregations of the Baptists. The war closed the schools but he is now seeking to re-open them. He was trained in England and has been in Costa Rica for twenty years.

¶ In Tobago, the Negroes have developed 13 agricultural districts on a co-operative basis.

¶ In Barbadoes, B. W. I., Negroes have no chance to own land and are used as a reservoir of common labor. In Granada, on the other hand, there are 14,000 small Negro landowners.

WEST AFRICA

¶ In May, 1930, an International Exhibition will be held in the Belgian Congo at Elizabethville to commemorate the centennary of Belgium independence. There will be an industrial exhibit and, characteristically, a lottery is being organized to defray expenses.

¶ For the first time in history, a Negro, Peter J. C. Thomas, head of an African firm of merchants, has been elected president of the Lagos, Nigeria, Chamber of Commerce. Most of the members are white British merchants.

¶ "White Africans and Black" by C. Singer and C. L. Baldridge, has been published in London. It is an excellent and sympathetic study of the West Coast.

¶ William Wade Harris, the "Black Elijah," is dead in Liberia. He has been touring the tribes of West Africa since 1915, and thousands flock to him. As a result of his work, 150 stone churches have been built and 22,000 converts made.

¶ The great Town Hall of Ibadan, Nigeria, has been opened in the presence of all the chiefs of Yorubaland and the British Governor.

¶ The Governor of Nigeria has invested Henry Carr, a colored man, with the "most excellent Order of the British Empire." He recalled the fact that Mr. Carr had served as Director of Education and filled other eminent posts.

(*Will you please turn to page* 34)

Champion Relay Team, George Washington High School, New York

YOUTHPORT

For Juniors of the N. A. A. C. P.

EFFIE LEE NEWSOME, *Critic*

WELL, here it is, *Youthport*, done by youth. We have selected four essays and a drawing from New Jersey, the District of Columbia, Ohio, and California.

Our editorial staff for the first half of 1930 will be:

Editor: Agnes J. Laws
Assistant Editors: Elizabeth Carter, Alda Taylor
Art Editor: Eleanor Paul

How Youthport Shall Be Conducted and What It Shall Aim to Do

I am to be Youthport, and I am going to be conducted by various Junior Divisions all over the country. These groups are going to send in material to help build me up and make me strong. They are going to send in such material as poetry, history of some Negro hero, pictures of themselves, and original drawings, and tell of the work they are doing in their particular group both social and educational.

I am also to have a manager whose name is "Editor". His duty is to manage all my business affairs. He receives all my contributions from the groups and criticizes them, then picks out the best work and publishes it. I am then ready to be read. Of course I am going to be interesting. The Juniors will see to that. They will put in me the best they can, so that every young person will be glad when they know I am going to be present every month in the Senior CRISIS.

I am going to try to teach the young people some of the heroic and noble deeds their race has done and is doing. I am going to try to awaken in them an abundance of race pride so they may be proud of her at anytime and before any other race. I am going to try to instill in them, that because their face is black is not sufficient reason why they are not entitled to their rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Then I am going to try to induce them to do everything in their power to better themselves and others so that our race may thrive and become great through their efforts.

Through you, Juniors, these things can be accomplished. Help me with all your might.

AGNES J. LAWS,
Long Branch, N. J.

Youthport should be conducted in such a way as to create and maintain the live interest of young folks everywhere. It should aim to provide a genuine motive for achievements in the line of literary art. Our race is greatly in need of skillful writers and artists. And, if we offer sufficient inducement, our group perhaps will give to the world someday a representation, whose achievements the world will regard as worthy of every recognition.

Drawing by Eleanor Paul
Sacramento, Cal.

I suggest that *Youthport*, the division which is turned over to the juniors, contain the best selected short story, a poem, a book review, a brief autobiography, and last but not least, a drawing.

Let it be our policy, too, to be on the alert to secure subscriptions to our magazine. Let the juniors as well as the seniors talk to their friends, and explain Youthport to them. Certainly, there are many who will be eager to support our section. It is up to us to make it a success. I most heartily welcome the opportunity to do my bit.

ELIZABETH CARTER,
Washington, D. C.

Youthport is going to be the most interesting magazine because undoubtedly we juniors are going to make it so. We say "I Will" and stick to it.

I would suggest the following arrangement:

There should be several pages of the CRISIS Magazine set aside for the work of the Junior division of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. On the first page in the left-hand corner should be listed the names and addresses of the executive committee. The remainder of this page will consist of interesting international reports. Next, space should be given for the work in various states which might be divided into sections, for instance, Northeast, Southeast, Northwest, Southwest, or, numerically, sections I, II, III, IV.

Pictures and written accounts should be sent in of the most outstanding Junior member. The best and most interesting reports of each four sections will be presented on the remaining pages. This will prove a valuable incentive to other Divisions and will enable members to become acquainted with each other.

In order to be outstanding one must have excelled in membership drives and various campaigns for funds or will have played leading roles in whatever he or she has been exceptionally active.

The topics will vary according to the type of activity throughout the four sections, the newly organized divisions and individual division accomplishments. Poems and works of literature and art that express ability should be published on this page.

The aim of this department should be to engender new interest in the branches; to instill in other Negro youth the desire and ambition to become a part of this great crusade in the cause for justice. Indeed, *Youthport* should be such a vital and important section that it will greatly increase the sale of THE CRISIS and because of this department we will have a bigger and better magazine. The pages devoted to the work of the Junior Division will not only prove an inspiration to the Negro youth throughout the country but it will serve to educate the reading public that they may know the Negro youth of today have picked up the torch and are pushing onward and upward in the struggle for justice and democracy.

ALDA TAYLOR, Dayton, O.

Postscript
by W. E. B. Du Bois

GREETINGS

TO all those who have helped to make THE CRISIS what it is, by writing for it, by buying it, by reading it, by sending it to their friends and by criticizing it frankly either favorably or otherwise, we send the greetings of the season in the 20th Year of its life. May you have A Happy Christmas and A Successful New Year; may you have health and love; may you do to others even as you would that others do to you and may you continue to serve every high ideal and help every worthy cause.

And here are reasons why:

The World, to Black America,

Debtor

12 Negroes Lynched in 1929
The Loss of the Somerville Hotel
Continued Hell in Haiti
Hoover's "Lily-White" program
The Indictment of Bishop Carey
Segregation Laws in Richmond and Atlanta
"Jonny Spielt Auf"
Lincoln Students and Colored Professors
Discrimination in Philadelphia Boy Scouts
The Episcopal and Catholic Churches and Negroes
Persistent Discrimination in Hotels, Theaters and Residential Sections
Continued Disfranchisement in the South
Not a single city or state elected or appointed Negro official in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma and Texas
Continued Racial Insult
The Deaths of Moorfield Storey, Charles E. Bentley, Louis Marshall, Paul Kennady, Judge Hewlett, Lewis Latimer, James Bond, Lucius Williams and W. T. Francis.

Creditor

20th Birthday of the N. A. A. C. P.
Public Positions
- 1 Congressman
- 1 State Senator
- 1 Police Surgeon
- 14 Members of State Legislatures
- 12 Members of City Councils
- 1 Member of a City Board of Education
- 20 State and City Prosecuting Attorneys

> You have done a great work for your race—and for all races in the United States. You have sometimes preached strong and unpalatable doctrine, and urged aggressive movements which have not seemed to me always practicable. That makes no difference with the essential—which is that you have been a standing representative of the intellectual power of Negroes. I count you among the chief American writers of your day, and trust that some of your books will be read in years to come, as a statement of conditions in a critical time for the Negro race. You are an extremist—and so was William Lloyd Garrison.
>
> ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

Progress in Art
- Hayes, Robeson, Bledsoe, Marian Anderson, Garner, Diton.
- Laura Wheeler Waring
- Hampton Choir
- Little Theatre in Boston, Washington, Cleveland, New Haven and Dallas
- The Philadelphia Negro Musical Festival
- Harmon Traveling Art Exhibit in Eleven Cities

Education
- 19,253 Negroes in Colleges with 2,160 Graduates
- The New University at Atlanta
- The New Meharry

In the Courts
- Victory of the Colored Shriners
- Charleston West Virginia Library Case
- West Virginia and Ohio Segregation Cases
- Ben Bess
- Dr. Spence Case in Atlanta

Books
- The Black Christ, Passing, Plum Bun, Afrika Singt, Buell's Africa, What the Negro Thinks, Pedro Gorino, Rope and Faggot

3 Guggenheim and Rosenwald Fellows
50 Elk Scholars
Heroes
- Walter Jackson, Lionel Licorish, Ella Brown and 3 Carnegie Medalists

Mordecai Johnson, Spingarn Medalist
Mrs. DePriest Drinks Tea
First Negro
- High School Teacher in Boston
- Teacher in Hartford
- Member of the Bar Association in New York
- Lawyer in Delaware

Nathan Young shows Missouri
Business
- Supreme Liberty Life
- 30th Dividend of the National Benefit
- The Business League's C. M. A.

Athletics
- Eddie Tolan and Kid Chocolate

Earnest Just abroad
A Negro American in the Institute of Pacific Relations
$200,000 to Fisk from Alumni
Rosenwald Apartments
Chicago Debate on Social Equality
Show Boat, Hearts in Dixie, Hallelujah, Hot Chocolates and Porgy
Continued Help from the Slater, Jeanes, General Education Board and Rosenwald Funds
The Mechanics Bank and the Southern Aid
Phillis Wheatley Homes

THE FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

THE ink was scarcely dried on our announcement last month that the Fifth Pan-African Congress planned for Tunis, French North Africa, could not be held on account of paucity in attending numbers, than we received additional reasons for postponing the Congress. Gratien Candace, French Deputy from Guadeloupe, and Acting President of the Congress, writes us under date of November 15:

> "Je vous envoie, ci-joint, copie d'une lettre du Ministére des Affaires Etrangéres de la République Francaise, concernant le Véme Congrés Pan-Africain.
>
> "Le Gouvernement Francais ne tient pas du tout á ce que le Congrés ait lieu á Tunis. Il lui plairait, au contraire, que le Congrés tienne ses assises, soit á Lyon, á Marseille, á Bordeaux ou á Toulouse, ou dans toute autre grande ville, voire á Paris."

Our readers will thus see that the French Government after deep thought will "certainly not consent that the Congress should be held in Tunis but prefers that it should be held in a French city, as, for example,

at Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux or Toulouse or even in Paris."

In other words, the French Government does not want American Negroes prowling around its colonies and learning things. It would prefer to have them where it could watch them under the aegis trusted officials. Selah! What stronger argument is there for pushing the Pan-African idea?

THE ELECTIONS

THE results of the November election are encouraging for colored people. First of all, came the crash of the hopes of "Lily-white" Republicans in the South. They were foredoomed to failure. They won through an appeal to religious fanaticism, provincial narrowness and race hatred. No democracy can be built on such a basis. The political salvation of the South depends upon a democracy wide enough to include intelligent people of all races and colors. Neither the gambling Bishop, bourbons like Simmons, fools like Heflin, nor slick politicians like Slemp, can ever lead such a movement. They and the Hooverocrats went down to defeat, not because the President started to clean the Augean stables of Southern politics, but because of color astigmatism in carrying his plans out.

In addition to that, came a series of extraordinary victories which were not simply the victories of colored persons. We are at times compelled to vote for colored candidates simply because they are colored, and the compulsion consists in the ignorance, enmity or indifference of white candidates for the same office. But in this election, in a heartening number of cases, the colored candidates were the best candidates in the field by every measurement. In New York City, the Citizens' Union indorsed and recommended Aldermen like Hawkins and Moore and members of the Legislature like Rivers and Perkins. Even when Delaney was defeated by the obscure son of a third-rate white politician, the real citizens of New York, from the President of Columbia University down, knew that Delaney was far and away the better man. In Cleveland, an intelligent and well-equiped colored woman gained a deserved place on the Board of Education, and elsewhere, ability and character triumphed, even with the American handicap of a dark skin. Herein lies splendid hope for the future.

ABOUT MARRYING

DEAR MR. DU BOIS:

I imagine in all appeals for your advice you rarely are called upon to aid Cupid, and certainly still more rarely for such a case as mine. Briefly, I am a white young man and am in love with a colored girl.

Now to give some details so you can better understand the situation. I graduated from ———— in 1924 and she from ———— in 1923. Since then she has taught in various colored schools and I have been here most of the time teaching music, taking some college work and occasionally doing music study in ———. I now am 25 and she is 27.

My parents are friendly to Negroes and in ——— we associated with them to quite an extent. Because I inherited no racial prejudice I presume is one main factor in my "falling in love" with a colored girl. The first time I remember seeing her was in her high school Latin class when she was a Senior. I had a passing impression that she was the most beautiful girl I had ever seen. She comes from one of the better colored families, of course, and is a light mulatto—too dark though to pass as white and I am of German-English descent with sandy red hair and could never pass for colored. So. The next time I remember her especially was at high school commencement when she took a $20 gold piece prize in English and was one of the honor students. I did not meet her until three years later when she was a junior in college—she 19 and I, 17. It was at her brother-in-law's home, with whom I was chumming at the time. Then the deed was done and I passed two or three of the happiest weeks of my life. This was around Christmas time and when I went home for the holidays the wrath fell in earnest—they had warnings of it before. With all my parents' broad-mindedness they, of course, drew the line at this not only because of race but religious reasons. I was brought up with conservative ideas on religion and to honor and obey my parents. Then began the struggle between obedience to my parents and my own desires. This struggle still continues. Of course, all our friends, colored and white, had their say—even the college and conservatory deans. They had no objections usually to her as a person but only because of racial difference.

Our interests are common—music and French. It is now six years since I have seen her but we have corresponded most of the time. I still love her as intensely as at first. I am sure she was in love with me too *but*, you probably know and feel more keenly than I just what the but means. Some people think from some gossip passed on to me that our relations were immoral. That is not so. As I said, I am conservative and my ideas of love, marriage and divorce and religion by the modern flaming youth would be considered hopelessly mid-Victorian, Puritanical, old fogey and all the other scornful terms applied to such. I do not smoke, drink, dance, play cards, rarely go to a movie and my relations with her were just as "narrow". Of course, since I do none of the above I *never* have a good time! Singing Beethoven's ninth symphony under Dr. —— at ——, playing a Chopin and Mendelssohn concerto with orchestra, listening to the club give the "Messiah", playing the "Messiah" and "Elijah" for the chorus here, listening to Roland Hayes, speaking French, and studying with the most noted Composition teacher in —— does not come under the category of "good time"!

But that is all beside the point. The point is I still am madly in love with her and want her to be with me to share all these good things, yes, and be the mother of my children.

I do not advocate racial inter-marriage in general. But, Mr. Du Bois, since she is more white than Negro why should she not marry white? It's just as logical that way as the other. I think the standard of husband-wife relationship should be made principally on a spiritual and intellectual basis. We have had intellectual fellowship as I have said. She is more liberal in her social and religious views, but I think we agree on *the* fundamental—the God-Christ as atonement for sin. She is neat and attractive in her personal habits as I am. It is only the *but* that hinders.

I want your view on inter-marriage and advice as to whether you think I should persuade her to marry me. I feel we could manage somehow. Our friends and relatives would have to accept us willy-nilly. And anyhow we would not be marrying principally each other's relatives. A great majority of mother's folks I have not seen for twenty years and they mean nothing special to me. It's her I want.

We would have our own social contacts to make as any newly married couple does with its own peculiar problems.

I have nearly written you several times for three or four years but never could get to the point of doing so. I presume I will act like a dear friend of father and mother's whom I have heard them speak of very often when she asked for advice would say: "Now I want to know what you all think, but I will go ahead and do as I please afterwards."

———— — ————

P.S. Can you recommend any book on the subject that will be helpful?

My dear Mr. ————:

I have your letter of September 23rd. My advice is that if you wish to marry the girl and she wishes to marry you, then get married.

I assume that both of you know exactly the kind of difficulties you are going to meet. I need hardly to rehearse them. You are going to have restricted social intercourse, naturally so far as the whites are concerned; but also, so far as the colored people are concerned. In this matter, they are just as prejudiced as the whites. You are going to meet more or less insult and embarrassment in public places, if your wife is dark enough to have her color noticeable; and finally, (perhaps this is the most serious), you are going to have difficulty in finding work or in keeping it if people know that you have married a colored woman. It will be practically impossible for you to find work in any college, white or colored.

These are all facts which you have got to face frankly. If, before you had fallen in love you had consulted me as to the possibility, I should have pointed out these facts and emphasized them and advised you to go no further. But now the question simply is, are both of you ready, in the face of this situation, to face a world "well lost for love"?

I know of no book which treats this matter sanely to any extent. Haldeman-Julius has just published a little Blue Book by Schuyler which takes up the subject. I have also treated it briefly in my book "Darkwater".

W. E. B. Du Bois.

And now, Reader—white, black, green or yellow, what do you say in answer to this letter? Answer and we will publish a few of the letters.

GAMBLING

As compared with crap-shooting, always supposed to be the peculiar diversion of Negroes, nine-tenths of the operations of the Wall Street Stock Exchange favors craps, by every consideration of morals and social welfare. Unless the dice are loaded, crap-shooting is a game of pure chance, and the utmost that can happen is the transfer of actual wealth from one gambler to another. But in Wall Street, we have something much more complicated and much less defensible.

We have a great gambling pool, forming nine-tenths of a set of operations, of which the remaining tenth is legitimate and under present conditions necessary effort to sell capital to the highest bidder.

If the government owned all capital and distributed it by science, reason and welfare, as both Russia and President Hoover are now attempting to do, stock gambling would cease.

Around this, at present necessary operation, has arisen the habit of open betting on the future profit of the various industries seeking capital. Some of this betting takes the form of buying stock with the object of selling it for a higher price. There is an element of gambling here but it is the necessary gambling of privately owned capital and is as legitimate as crap-shooting.

Beyond this, however, there is a custom so wide-spread that it involved, during 1928, as high as seven billion dollars of borrowed funds in addition 30 or more billions of owned wealth. This consists of betting on the price of stock without buying it and with only the deposit of enough actual funds to insure the head gambler from sudden loss. It is this dealing in "futures", that has set the United States crazy for the last few years, taking funds from legitimate industry, depleting thrift accounts and stealing the wages of millions of people; it has made an astonishing number of level-headed Americans dream that they were going to gamble themselves into a financial heaven, where they would subsist on honey and illegal wine, and would sing, dance and do no work forever and forever.

Moreover, the dice in this gambling are nearly always loaded. Everybody who knew anything knew that they were loaded. The head gamblers know the present value of stocks and the reasonable future values. They deliberately deceive their clients by subtle propaganda to pay unreasonable prices. The President of the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury, the heads of great industries, the leaders of social welfare, all knew that stock prices were unreasonably high, yet, for the most part, they were dumb until the crash came. They knew that prices were being paid for part-ownership in industrial enterprises, which were far beyond anything which the enterprise could ever legitimately earn, and yet, they were silent. They listened in silence to a shameless propaganda that explained how a Miracle was happening and that miracle was involved in American financial leadership of the world; that in some magic way values were going to be re-cast so as to make Steel Common worth two or three times what it was really worth by any sane measurement.

Every professional gambler in Wall Street, backed by the money distributing power of the Federal Banking System, assured the world that this was so, with the idea of making profit by the gullability of ignorant investors. Every person of ordinary wisdom knew that the crash must come because the market had gone out beyond the steadying influence of real values and depending solely on gamblers' lies and the gullability of morons.

Just as there were gamblers who were gambling for a rise, and lied to make it, so there were other gamblers who, as the crest approached, gambled for a fall, and did not spare the truth to bring it about. The result was a crash so stupendous that it shook the world.

What was that crash in its essence? If it had been merely the transfer of money from gambler to gambler, it would have resembled a huge crap game and have been negligible save in its moral results. There would have been the same amount of wealth and work as before and the same number of idle blood-suckers. This is what the *New York Times* assured us was true after the crash, while President Hoover and Secretary Mellon joined in similar statements.

But these were half-truths. For the stock crash was far more than a transfer of hard-earned wealth and thrifty savings from poor people to the gambling rich. It involved destruction of wealth, work and faith—these three and the greatest of these is the Faith, called Credit. We count as wealth today in organized industry not only what we have but what we expect to have; not only what we do but what we plan to do. Destroy plans and overthrow legitimate expectation and industry is sick or dies. Of the great structure of modern time production and space distribution, the actual present goods, the pittance of cash money and the current days work are bagatelles compared with the expected value of goods to be finished, the value which goods now Here will have when they are There. Destroy the faith built on present Work—the Credit reared on present Cash and Goods and you have destroyed wealth and more than wealth.

That is the reason the President and Cabinet and millionaires are rushing about and crying all is well when no one knows better than they that all is not well because gamblers have been squandering the nation's wealth which industry needed and expected.

The collapse of the Stock Market was not only loss of capital taken from legitimate industry and sunk and destroyed in wild-cat schemes; it was above all, a shaking of the faith of Americans in American industrial organization and in all private capitalistic enterprise. It was the most tremendous blow to the integrity and efficiency of the capitalistic and privately-owned industry of America which that organization ever re-

ceived. American capitalism was stabbed in the house of its friends. Nothing that Socialists have said or thought for one hundred years has so openly and crassly pointed out the weakness and injustice of industrial life in America.

The end is not yet. The President may repudiate all his individualism and deny the *laissez-faire* of private enterprise by hurriedly summoning the captains of industry and pleading with them for that co-operation, scientific foresight and submergence of the profit motive which only an efficient State can supply in fullest measure. The fundamental weakness of our system still remains. We are gambling with loaded dice. If gamble we must, we would far better confine ourselves to craps.

FOOTBALL

THE right of a football coach to bench a player is granted. But the reason must be the good of the team. The benching of one of the best players on the New York University team in a game with Georgia students, was indefensible because it was a despicable yielding to sheer race prejudice. The student body resented it. They were ready to refuse to attend the game. The city resented it. The N. A. A. C. P. stood ready with help and co-operation. A group of colored Harlem men were ready to pay this black boy for what he would lose by resenting the insult. The only person who had no complaint was the black player himself. He refused in any way to communicate with the officials of the N. A. A. C. P. The reason given for his failure to play was an alleged injury, which proved, in fact, to be nothing serious, and finally he went back and played out the season. We have much sympathy for the struggle of the younger Negro between the prejudice of whites and the selfish conservatism of blacks, but for this colored football player, we have nothing but contempt.

DISSENT

I READ THE CRISIS with interest and admiration, but every now and then I come across something which jars unnecessarily. For example, in the December number, presumably the peace and good-will number, on page 404, there is a deserving and glowingly eloquent tribute to Moorfield Storey utterly spoiled by the violence of the phrase, "this Hell of America."

In the first place, the phrase is not justified unless you despair entirely of mankind. I have lived in many countries and have been in four continents, and comparing America with other countries, it stands out far above most of them in its human relations. If then America is a hell, most of the other countries of the world must be the lowest depths of hell. To this drastic doctrine I am sure you will not assent.

Or, by concentrating one's attention on the ugliest aspects of American life, grant for a moment that the phrase is justified,—it is still not expedient. The battle for human justice will be won not by vituperation, but by those qualities which you rightly extol in Moorfield Storey, — gentlemanliness, aristocratic dignity and courtesy. It injures, not helps, the cause to which Mr. Storey devoted himself, to give way to temper.

D. DE SOLA POOL, New York.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

THERE is only one item of specific interest to American Negroes in the recent Message of the President of the United States. They are, of course, with all Americans overwhelmed by the thought that $700,000,000 is being spent by the army of the nation which leads in the advocacy of peace, and that during the next six years over a thousand millions may go for battleships. There is, too, the following paragraph:

> The test of the rightfulness of our decisions must be whether we have sustained and advanced the ideals of the American people; self-government in its foundations of local government; justice whether to the individual or to the group; ordered liberty; freedom from domination; open opportunity and equality of opportunity; the initiative and individuality of our people; prosperity and the lessening of poverty; freedom of public opinion; education; . . . . .

But no black man assumes that the President had any thought of colored folk when he wrote this. The following words do, however, touch us directly:

> We still have marines on foreign soil —in Nicaragua, Haiti and China. In the large sense we do not wish to be represented abroad in such manner. . . . In Haiti we have about 700 marines, but it is a much more difficult problem, the solution of which is still obscure. If Congress approves, I shall dispatch a commission to Haiti to review and study the matter in an endeavor to arrive at some more definite policy than at present.

Every reader of this paragraph should get in touch with his Congressman at once and ask for the appointment of such a Commission and for the inclusion upon it of at least one American Negro.

WE have reprinted on heavy paper with margins the frontispiece with the portrait of Moorfield Storey published in the December CRISIS. The price is ten cents a copy postpaid, twelve copies for a dollar or a hundred copies for five dollars.

AN Index of THE CRISIS for 1929 will soon be ready and can be had for the asking.

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N. A. A. C. P.

(*Continued from page* 13)

additions have been made. The Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, Lieutenant Governor of the State of New York, has been elected by the Board of Directors to fill the place made vacant by the death of Louis Marshall. Mr. Lehman comes to the Association with the prestige not alone of public service in one of the highest offices of honor which his state has to offer. He served his country during the World War, being promoted through successive grades to the rank of Colonel. Besides this, his name is known in the world of finance, and industry, as that of one of the ablest of leaders. The banking firm which bears his name is respected as one against which no word of reproach has been uttered.

The accession of such a powerful force, testifies to the vitality of the idea which goes marching on though its champions pass. So does the addition to the National Legal Committee of Professor Felix Frankfurter, of the Harvard School of Law. When liberal causes in the United States have cried out for able and courageous defenders, often the name of Professor Frankfurter has been among the first to be called. He has not hesitated to stand against public clamor, mob pressure, even against the subtler and more powerful pressure exerted by the dominating forces in American social, political and financial life. His record in the Sacco-Vanzetti cases remains one of the bright spots in an episode dark with many kinds of shame.

To have a legal mind and a personality of the calibre of Professor Frankfurter, among the consultants and advisers of the N. A. A. C. P. in its legal problems, is occasion for hearty congratulations.

Still another accession to the Association's forces, it is a pleasure to record. It is that of James Marshall, Louis Marshall's son. James Marshall, too, has joined the Association's National Legal Committee. His carrying on the work that was so close to his father's heart, retains on the Association's records a name that will always be honored in its history.

It remains to mention one whose name is well known to colored Americans. It is T. G. Nutter, former member of the legislature of West Virginia, prominent attorney in Charleston, West Virginia, and president of the N. A. A. C. P. Branch in that city. Mr. Nutter has won vital and pioneering cases for the rights of colored people in his state. He fought to a finish and won their right to use the Public Library in West Virginia's capital city. More recently still, he won a residential segregation case, one of the first and most decisive victories ever won against the principle of segregation by covenant among property owners. Now Mr. Nutter has been added to the lawyers who comprise the Association's National Legal Committee. To this council, in whose hands lie decisions affecting millions of United States citizens, now and in years to come, Mr. Nutter comes as a valued addition.

So, although champions pass, new champions step forward. And it is this continuity of the idea of the N. A. A. C. P. which seems almost to defeat death itself. So fortified, the Association may look with confidence toward the triumphs of the future.

MRS. DAISY LAMPKIN

THE success of the N. A. A. C. P. has been due in large measure to the untiring work of colored women. Some of their names are enrolled in its records. The late Mrs. Talbert was a holder of that coveted distinction, the Spingarn Medal. To Mrs. Memphis T. Garrison, of Gary, West Virginia, who originated and now administers the distribution of N. A. A. C. P. Christmas seals, went the Mme. C. J. Walker Medal last year. The names of colored women who have been leaders in their communities, who have kept the N. A. A. C. P. work alive, are too numerous to mention.

It is an exceptional pleasure to record that one such woman has recently been added to the National Staff, as regional field secretary. The name of Mrs. Daisy Lampkin will be known wherever colored women meet together. Her achievements have been so unusual that they have long been the subject of public knowledge and comment.

In Pittsburgh, Mrs. Lampkin's home, she obtained very nearly 2,000 members for the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P., making it one of the strong branches of the Association. During the war she had charge among

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colored people in Allegheny County on work in behalf of the 4th and 5th Liberty Loans and with her committee sold bonds to the amount of two million dollars. As organizer for the National Association of Colored Women, she added 15,000 members to that body through local clubs and organized three state federations. She is now financial secretary of the Hospital Association in Pittsburgh and chairman of the Executive Board of the National Association of Colored Women.

Life is too short for most people to do so much, but not for Mrs. Lampkin, who seems to have a genius for inspiring other people with some of her own energy and enthusiasm. The Association is happy and fortunate to have her services, and to testify again its appreciation of the part which leaders among colored women are playing in making it the national power it has come to be.

H. J. S.

In Haiti

(*Continued from page* 18)

addition are made jointly responsible for the costs of the trial.

And the treatment to which they will be subjected while in prison may be readily pictured.

Advices upon events subsequent to the above described trial state that M. Carl Brouard another journalist and a representative of an aristocratic Haitian family has been imprisoned for having protested against the consecration of two French priests as Bishops respectively of Gonaives and Port-de-Pain.

His protest charged that these appointments were clearly contrary to the law and that the High Clergy being white maintains and fosters racial prejudice against the Haitian priests who have been systematically denied elevation to the Bishopric. All these editors conclude in summarizing the policy of Borno as the policy of a traitor to this country.

This is the crime of Jacques Roumain, George Petit, Guerin and more recently of Carl Brouard.

The Browsing Reader

(*Continued from page* 19)

the University of Califoria and is at present at the head of the Bureau of Publications of the League of Nations.

During the years spent by Mr. Schoell in this country he traveled extensively, studying at first-hand many of the problems of American life. His stay was long enough to allow him to form mature opinions.

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The various chapters of the book have appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and the *Revue de Paris* from 1920 to 1929. The first chapter is called the *Black Belt of Chicago* (1920); it tells of the riots which took place at that time and analyses with penetration the cause of those disturbances. It is followed by a description of the *Republican Convention at Chicago* in 1920, dealing with the electoral publicity connected with the convention, the crowd, the candidates and the triumph of women in the campaign.

In Harlem (New York): the Negro "Renaissance" is a study of the situation of Negroes after the war, the industrialization of the Southern states, the urbanization of Negroes, Harlem, the capital of the black race, "towards a black middle class", the black press, the Negro horizon, African preoccupations and opinions about the future. Mr. Schoell tells us that in 1922 he spoke of a "sudden outburst of black solidarity". "That stage is already past," he says, "for history makes great strides in the twentieth century. One can now speak of a development of that solidarity, noting, however, that we have been led by the forces of things to consider above all the Negroes who have evolved and that the mass follows with some delay. Mr. Schoell admits that "this great phenomenon which we have noticed, that pride of race which has almost become a psychosis of race is a good thing from many angles. By the fact that more and more Negroes aspire to be self-sufficient, to make their purchases at a Negro grocer's, to become members of a Negro mutual benefit society, to read black magazines, to be buried by black clergymen; they create a livelihood for black businessmen, journalists, clergymen, they assure a virtual monopoly for those of their race and contribute to constituting a sort of half bourgeois middle-class, an intellectual proletariat in some respects, which tends to take the mass along with it over ways of a certain progress." But the author is afraid that the nationalism or chauvinism, as he calls it, if pushed to its extreme consequences, would entail many dangers for the future of the black race and that the militant attitude of sufficiency which the race seems to want to adopt more and more in the United States would have the effect of retarding the normal development of the race, by artificially stimulating the creation of separate enterprises and institutions and by fixing attention of each one on inferior models.

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HELÉNE HARVITT.

Along the Color Line

(*Continued from page* 25)

EAST AFRICA

¶ The Kikuyu Central Association, composed of the younger natives, has protested against the report of Sir Samuel Wilson, recommending that native interests in the Kenya East Africa Legislature should be represented by whites. The Association demands that there be at least three Africans in the Kenya legislature. It also protested against the omission of English in the native elementary schools.

¶ The Aborigines Protection Society has petitioned the new English Secretary of State for the Colonies to establish in East Africa a common citizenship for civilized British subjects regardless of color; a common test of civilization and legislation without racial distinction; it protests forced labor, and asks for taxation in proportion to wealth, and adequate land for the natives.

¶ December 16 is known as Dingaan's Day in South Africa, in memory of Dingaan, who led the natives against the English and Boors nearly a hundred years ago.

Black Rulers

(*Continued from page* 16)

born in Kentucky in 1889, the youngest of ten children. His father, a Civil War Veteran, died when he was nine years old. His mother moved to Kansas, where the boy was educated and went into business. Finally, he studied theology and pastored Congregational churches in Memphis and Athens. He came to Cleveland in 1925. In 1929, he was elected to fill the unexpired term of Thomas W. Fleming, and was reelected this fall.

It will thus be seen that the legend that Negroes are entirely without political rights and that they never rule over white folk as well as black is quite untrue. On the other hand, it is only too true that of the perhaps seven million colored people who live in the far South, there is not a single member of the Legislature; a single judicial officer, or a single member of a City Council. In fact, it is only in rare cases that one can find a colored Notary Public.

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